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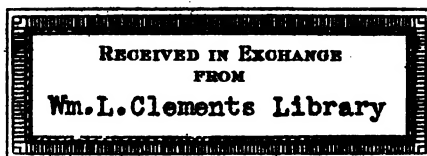
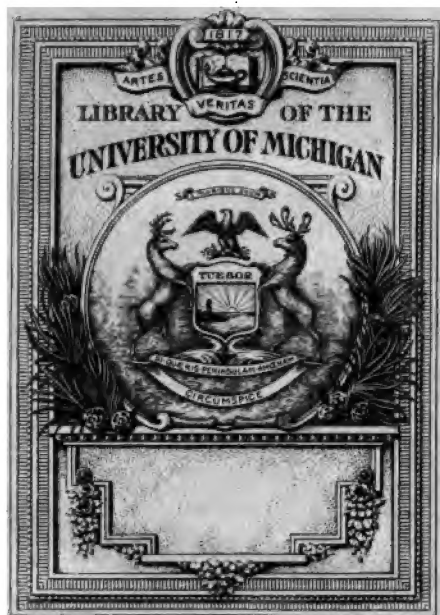


Henderson
1870



George Purling







THE
Parliamentary Register;
OR,
HISTORY
OF THE
PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES
OF THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS:

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF

The most interesting **SPEECHES** and **MOTIONS**; accurate
Copies of the most remarkable **LETTERS** and **PAPERS**;
of the most material **EVIDENCE**, **PETITIONS**, &c.
laid before and offered to the **HOUSE**,

DURING THE

FIFTH SESSION of the **FOURTEENTH PARLIAMENT**
OF
GREAT BRITAIN.

IN SEVENTEEN VOLUMES.

VOL. X.

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THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
PROCEEDINGS and DEBATES
Of the FIFTH SESSION of the
HOUSE OF COMMONS
OF THE

Fourteenth Parliament of *Great Britain*,

Appointed to be held at WESTMINSTER,

On *Thursday*, the 26th Day of *November* 1778.

HIS Majesty opened this session with the following speech from the throne :

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have called you together in a conjuncture which demands your most serious attention.

In the time of profound peace, without pretence of provocation or colour of complaint, the court of France hath not forbore to disturb the public tranquillity, in violation of the faith of treaties, and the general rights of sovereigns, as first by the clandestine supply of arms and other aid to my revolted subjects in North America, afterwards by avowing openly their support, and entering into formal engagements with the leaders of the rebellion, and at length by committing open hostilities and depredations on my faithful subjects, and by an actual invasion of my dominions in America and the West Indies.

It is, I trust, unnecessary for me to assure you, that the same care and concern for the happiness of my people, which induced me to endeavour to prevent the calamities of war, will make me desirous to see a restoration of the blessings of peace, whenever it can be effected with perfect honour, and with security to the rights of this country.

VOL. X.

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In the mean time, I have not neglected to take the proper and necessary measures for disappointing the malignant designs of our enemies, and also for making general reprisals; and although my efforts have not been attended with all the success which the justice of our cause, and the vigour of our exertions, seemed to promise, yet the extensive commerce of my subjects has been protected in most of its branches, and large reprisals have been made upon the injurious aggressors, by the vigilance of my fleets, and by the active and enterprising spirit of my people.

The great armaments of other powers, however friendly and sincere their professions, however just and honourable their purposes, must necessarily engage our attention.

It would have afforded me very great satisfaction to have informed you, that the conciliatory measures, planned by the wisdom and temper of Parliament, had taken the desired effect, and brought the troubles in North America to a happy conclusion.

In this situation of affairs, the national honour and security call so loudly upon us for the most active exertions, that I cannot doubt of your heartiest concurrence and support. From the vigour of your councils, and the conduct and intrepidity of my forces by sea and land, I hope, under the blessing of God, to derive the means of vindicating and maintaining the honour of my crown, and the interests of my people, against all our enemies.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I will order the proper estimates for the service of the ensuing year to be laid before you; and, when you consider the importance of the objects for which we are contending, you will, I doubt not, grant me such supplies as you shall judge necessary for the public service, and adequate to the present emergency.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have, according to the powers vested in me for that purpose, called forth the militia, to assist in the interior defence of this country; and I have, with the greatest and truest satisfaction, been myself a witness of that public spirit, that steady ardour, and that love of their country, which animate and unite all ranks of my faithful subjects, and which cannot fail of making us safe at home and respected abroad.

Hon. Mr. *Greville* moved, that an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to return his Majesty the thanks of this House, for his most gracious speech from the throne;

to acknowledge his Majesty's paternal regard for the happiness of his people, in his earnest and uniform endeavours to preserve the public tranquillity; that we cannot but feel concern and regret, that the measures taken by his Majesty, for disappointing these hostile and malignant designs, have not been attended with all the success which the justice of the cause, and the vigour of the exertions, seemed to promise: that it would have given his faithful Commons the truest happiness to have received the communication from his Majesty, that the just and humane purposes of his Majesty and his Parliament, for quieting the minds of his revolted subjects, had taken the desired effect, and had brought the troubles in North America to a happy conclusion; to assure his Majesty, that his Majesty may rely on the hearty and zealous concurrence and assistance of his faithful Commons, in enabling his Majesty to make the most active and vigorous exertions by sea and land, &c. In support of the motion, he said, that the conduct of the colonies had brought this country into its present divided situation; the legal bounds of coercion and liberty producing different opinions.

Mr. *J. Campbell* seconded the motion, and said, the conduct of America had made vigorous measures necessary and unavoidable, and that however different opinions may have been respecting America, yet respecting France there could be but one opinion.

Right hon. *T. Townshend* said, in this dangerous crisis he should have expected to have heard the address moved and seconded by gentlemen in responsible offices, who could have told the House in what they were to be unanimous; but these gentlemen have told nothing. Are we to fight France in America? He wished he had seen in the speech, whether we were to continue armed against Spain. Are we to continue armed against Holland, the ancient ally of this country? As he had never expected any great success from our armaments, he could not express any regret at the disappointment. We are called upon, he said, to unanimously commend the plans, and to blame the execution. He must object to the words, "the earnest endeavours to maintain the public tranquillity." Those who began this war with America, he said, were the disturbers of the public tranquillity. And he remarked, that the address contained no compliment to the militia, the officers of which had been scandalously neglected; and to such a dangerous situation was this country reduced, that our utmost exertions had been made, with-

out procuring any adequate benefit. He concluded by moving an amendment, To assure his Majesty, that with the truest zeal for the honour of the Crown, and the warmest affection for his Majesty's person and family, we are ready to give the most ample support to such measures as may be thought necessary for the defence of these kingdoms, or for frustrating the designs of that restless power which has so often disturbed the peace of Europe; but that we think it one of our most important duties, in the present melancholy posture of affairs, to enquire by what fatal councils, or unhappy systems of policy, this country has been reduced from that splendid situation which, in the early part of his Majesty's reign, made her the envy of all Europe, to such a dangerous state as that which has of late called forth our utmost exertions without any adequate benefit.

Mr. *Rice* said, he did not object to an enquiry; he thought it necessary; but he did not approve of its being included in the address.

Mr. *Fox* seconded this motion, and said, I rise, Sir, in support of the amendment made by my honourable friend, because I wish as much as he does to promote any enquiry into the misconduct and incapacity of the present ministers: I know that views of succeeding to some of the offices now filled by the present ministers will be assigned as the motives of my conduct in opposing them, but we are now in such a situation as to make me neglect such considerations: I think myself so loudly called upon by my duty to my country, that I will freely expose my character to public censure or animadversion, while I pursue that line which my duty marks out. Nobody is more sensible than I am of the necessity of unanimity at this conjuncture, and I wish I had the opportunity of supporting a ministry with justice to this country; but that can never be with the present; I know them too well to do so, and will, as my duty, give them every opposition that my situation, my opportunities, and my talents, whatever they may be, will enable me: I know that doing so will be called clogging the wheels of government at a time when they ought to be assisted by every man; but they have reduced us to that paradoxical situation that I must choose of two evils, for they have not left us the power of choosing any good: it is a paradox in fact, and I will take that part which appears to me to be, though bad, the best: I will consequently use all my abilities to remove the present ministry, by using every means in my power to clog them in the

the House, to clog them out of the House, and to clog every thing they engage in while they fill those places which they disgrace; I will do so because I think this is less ruinous than to submit any longer to their blundering administration, and their blundering system of politics.

What is our situation at entering into this war compared with our situation at the beginning of the last French war? England was then at the height of her happiness, and I may say, at the height of her riches and commerce; all her resources fresh and untouched, and in the full vigour of strength; but at the beginning of this we have been engaged in a four years useless, expensive, destructive, ruinous, fruitless war; and now that, by a complication of blunders, they have brought us to this point, they call to us for unanimity, and desire we should continue them, for that is the object of the address, to blunder in a second war as they have done in the first.

His Majesty in his speech tells you that your efforts have not been attended with all the success which the justice of our cause and the vigour of our exertions seemed to promise. The speech is allowed on all hands to be the speech of the minister; it is parliamentary to consider it so; and I will tell the noble Lord that that is not *fact*, that it is not *founded*, and that the speech is *FALSE*; that you had more success than you deserved; and that you ought to be happy at the issue of your exertions, and contented that things are no worse; you have had every success that could be expected from the measures of the noble Lord, and more, for you have escaped: your fleet was sent out under your brave and able commander Admiral Keppel, twenty sail only to meet thirty ships of the line, that fleet on which your existence depended, and which alone stood between you and an invasion; the noble Lord gave every chance of its being destroyed by inequality in numbers, and your navy at one blow totally ruined;—it escaped; that could never have been expected. Mons. d'Estaing left Toulon and went into the Mediterranean; when his destination was no longer doubtful, no fleet was sent after him to where he might have been effectually stopped; he was suffered to go out again, and to proceed with the treaty and the French ambassador on board, which the noble Lord well knew; he had a passage uncommonly bad across the Atlantic, and so you escaped in America; that could not have been expected: Admiral Byron was sent out to America at such a time that it was barely possible he should arrive in time to succour that

brave and excellent commander, the noble Lord whom I am happy to see now in his place; by his conduct he was able to preserve the fleet under his command, such as it was, and it escaped; that could not have been expected. I say therefore that you have had better issue in every quarter than could possibly have been hoped for or expected, and that consequently the speech not only asserts a falsehood, but throws a false, unjust, illiberal censure upon his Majesty's servants, the commanders employed in the service of the Crown, which ought alone to fall upon the ministry.

What does the speech say next? It says that the commissioners sent out to America have been equally censurable in not executing the PLANS of PARLIAMENT; what were those plans of Parliament, for I never heard of them before in this House? what, that the commissioners should be sent out in the dark as to every thing intended, was that the plan of Parliament?—That General Clinton should leave Philadelphia without their having two hours warning, and that distrust should be saddled on them the moment of their arrival, was that the plan of Parliament? That they should offer terms of reconciliation equally degrading to this country and unlikely to be listened to by Congress, was that the plan of Parliament? I never heard of those plans before, and I now disclaim all share in them, if there were any of that kind: Parliament formed no plans, but the ministry did, and we see what they were; and the speech is a LIBEL upon Parliament when it attributes to us such pitiful plans; the speech is slanderous and libellous in calling them plans of Parliament.

Of all the commanders employed by the present ministry, of all the officers who have served under them, let me ask where there is one who has not quarrelled with them and left them in disgust? In what single instance have the ministry succeeded? And no ministry was ever uniformly unsuccessful that did not plan unwisely: but there is a *spirit of discord* among them that frustrates every thing; the moment any person is appointed to a command, from that moment the ministry set themselves against him, from that moment he is counteracted, and at last forced to throw it up; happy if he can retire from their service before his reputation is lost in those expeditions which they first absurdly plan in the teeth of every difficulty, and afterwards will not suffer to be executed. There is a *spirit of discord* in the constitution of the present ministry which must ever have the same effect, and
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for ever prevent any thing succeeding under their hands ; that spirit of discord in the ministries of this country has been the characteristic of the present reign, but it never flourished in greater perfection than at present ; the ministry of to-day have exceeded all that went before them in that respect ; it has pervaded every branch of the service of the country, and, weak and disunited among themselves, disjointed and torn asunder, they laugh at opposition, and call upon us for unanimity. His late Majesty was not one of those princes whom history dignifies with the title of hero, yet this country never was at a higher pitch of glory than during the later part of his reign ; because it was governed by a ministry so formed as to have in its constitution the principles of success, and forming one entire *whole* ; a ministry who knew the interests of their country, who were unanimous in the cabinet, uniting in themselves those circumstances which point out the proper natural aristocracy of this country, and supported by the confidence of the nation. What a melancholy contrast does the situation of the empire under that ministry form with the present, how will it appear under the pen of some future historian, equal to those of the present day, if any such shall hereafter arise, whose subject shall be, not the glory, but the fall of the British empire. Have the ministers no regard to the fame of a master who has sacrificed every thing to their emolument or ambition ? Will they entail infamy upon his name, after having robbed him of half his people ? Instead of being celebrated for those virtues and abilities which have extricated states from dangerous convulsions, how will it scar the eye-balls of the Prince to see the decline of his empire dated from his accession, and its fall completed within his single reign ! His private virtues will in the lapse of time be forgotten or overlooked, the character of the man will be lost in the character of the monarch, and he will be marked and handed down to the latest posterity as the *loser of his empire*.

His Majesty in the speech takes a great deal of pains and uses a great deal of labour to shew that there is good cause for arming against France ; his Majesty might have been saved that trouble ; there is cause, and cause enough, to go to war with France ; there was cause long enough ago ; and that correspondence with America, which the speech calls *clandestine*, has been known years to every one of his subjects : when was it the ministry, in their penetration, found out this

clandestine correspondence? but now that they acknowledge it is necessary to go to war with France, what power have we to assist us? I see none mentioned, I hear of no alliance: there is no man who has a higher opinion of the spirit or resources of this nation than I have; but you cannot enter into a new war alone; this nation is not able to fight the whole world at once, and yet you hear not a word of any ally or of any support: this one circumstance, if there were no other, is such a damning proof of the incapacity and inability of the present ministry, that I never will give my vote to an address which pledges this House for the support of future measures which the present ministers are to advise and direct.

Look what your situation is now and what it was at this time last year: what did the ministers then say and what have they since done? they told you in the month of November that there were thirty-five sail of ships then ready, and seven more in great forwardness, to be fit for sea in the month of December; now this account must have been *false*, for in March you had only twelve sent to America with Admiral Byron, and Mr. Keppel had only twenty; that makes thirty-two *only*, ten short of the number they themselves stated to you, so that the account given in them must have been *false*; or if they will say that it was not false, and that the other ten went to different stations, which I do not believe, then was the admiralty sitting idle from November to March, without putting one more ship in forwardness, for more than three months, during which time France was employed solely in fitting out fleets in all quarters such as she never had before. They stated your fleet then to be infinitely superior to that of France, or of Spain, superior to them both together, but *infinitely* superior to either of them separately; that you were *infinitely* superior to them on every station: and yet, notwithstanding all this superiority at home and abroad, Mr. Keppel was sent out with only twenty sail to meet thirty ships of the enemy, and every possible chance given them of being destroyed: notwithstanding our superiority and forwardness, Mr. Byron was not sent after Monsieur D'Estaing (who went out the 13th of April), until the 5th of May: and notwithstanding our superiority in every quarter, the noble Lord who commanded in America was left without reinforcement, without even *notice* of the motions of the French, to fall a prey, if fortune and his own conduct had not prevented it, to the fleet of France. But the whole of their conduct is well known to the world: must I mention the sending of a fleet
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of transports into the Delaware after Philadelphia had been evacuated, a fleet upon which the existence of the army depended, and which nothing but the most extraordinary accident could have saved; need I mention the abandoning Philadelphia, the taking and keeping of which had cost so much—but indeed I will give some degree of merit to that, as far as it was undoing what had been done, those are the only measures in which the ministry ever had my approbation—yet if it was to be done, Sir, why did not the Commissioners know it? why were they sent out in ignorance, and exposed as wanting the confidence of their employers? on the moment of their appearance they were landed among the people with whom they were to enter into a negociation of mutual faith with the seal of suspicion fixed upon their commission: here again broke out the spirit of the administration, that spirit of discord which we never loose sight of; what opinion after this must America have of the Commissioners? how were they to venture to treat with them? There was only one of the Commissioners who could have had the ear of the people in America; he alone of the Commissioners had been their friend in Great Britain; he was acquainted with the temper of the province of Pennsylvania; he built his hopes in going out alone upon the temper of that province, and the moment he was landed you left it; you carried him away with you, and left those who were ill-judged enough to be your friends to fall an undefended sacrifice for their attachment: there again the spirit of distrust and discord appeared; no steps were suffered to be taken towards a reconciliation; no plan was formed, no hopes conceived in any side, except the hopes, by amusing the House, to get over the session here at home. How all the schemes of the ministry have been formed, judge from their issue, but look for a minute how critically ill-timed has been every *attempt*: terms of reconciliation were offered, when? at a time when you had been baffled, at a time when you were subdued, at a time when they had ordered your army into such a situation that it was obliged to capitulate: was that a moment to be chosen to offer terms? but look back to what the noble Lord has told you himself; he always intended a reconciliation, he always looked after a peace, and kept it in view; did he then engage you in a civil war with your brethren in America till he should be tired of an active scene of administration? where was the use of entering into a war for a peace which you had offered to you without it? but he will tell you, no, it was to
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find the best time to make your peace, to find the best moment to propose your terms ; he looked for that moment, he was on the watch for such a moment, and you see the glorious golden opportunity he fixed upon for the deliberate execution of a concerted plan : Good God, Sir, are these hands into which you will trust the fate of your empire ; who can listen to such facts without indignation and contempt of such a ministry, and what man will join in an address to keep ministers in office who are capable of such mismanagement, and such plans of operation for a war ?

I am sorry I have again turned my eyes to the business of Saratoga ; the state of that army is a melancholy sight ; languishing under the power of a set of men who have violated every idea of public faith : I must take this opportunity, to say, that I think the conduct of the Congress is blameable in the highest, and that they have departed from every principle that ought to bind men, in the case of that army : but I will no longer dwell on what is past, I will look to the future : I have done with detail, and, with the permission of the House, I will in a few words give my general idea of the war which we are now to engage in.

You have now two wars before you, of which you must choose one, for both you *cannot* support ; the war against America has been hitherto carried on against her alone, unassisted by any ally whatever ; notwithstanding the stood alone, you have been obliged uniformly to encrease your exertions, and to push your efforts in the end to the extent of your power, without being able to bring it to any issue ; you have exerted all your force hitherto without effect, and you cannot now divide a force found already inadequate to its object : my opinion is for withdrawing your forces from America entirely, for a defensive war you never can think of there of any sort : a defensive war would ruin this nation at any time and in any circumstances ; offensive war is pointed out as proper for this country ; our situation points it out, and the spirit of the nation impels us to attack rather than defence ; attack France, then, for she is your object ; the nature of the war is quite different ; the war against America is against your own countrymen, you have stopped me from saying your fellow subjects ; that against France is against your inveterate enemy and rival : every blow you strike in America is against yourselves, it is against all idea of reconciliation, and against your own interest, though you should be able, as you never will, to force them

them to submit ; every stroke against France is of advantage to you ; the more you lower the scale in which France lays in the balance, the more your own rises, and the more the Americans will be detached from her as useless to them : even your victories over America are in favour of France, from what they must cost you in men and money ; your victories over France will be felt by her ally ; America must be conquered in France, France never can be conquered in America. The war of the Americans is a war of *passion* ; it is of such a nature as to be supported by the most powerful virtues, love of liberty and of their country, and at the same time by those passions in the human heart which give courage, strength, and perseverance to man ; the spirit of revenge for the injuries you have done them, of retaliation for the hardships inflicted on them, and of opposition to the unjust powers you would have exercised over them ; every thing combines to animate them to this war, and such a war is without end ; for whatever obstinacy enthusiasm ever inspired man with, you will now find it in America : no matter what gives birth to that enthusiasm, whether the name of religion or of liberty, the effects are the same ; it inspires a spirit that is unconquerable and solicitous to undergo difficulty, danger and hardship ; and as long as there is a man in America, a being formed such as we are, you will have him present himself against you in the field. The war of France is of another sort ; the war of France is a war of interest ; it was her interest first induced her to engage in it, and it is by that interest that she will measure its continuance ; turn your face at once against her, attack her wherever she is exposed, crush her commerce wherever you can, make her feel heavy and immediate distress throughout the nation, the people will soon cry out to their government : whilst the advantages she promises herself are remote and uncertain, inflict present evils and distresses upon her subjects, the people will become discontented and clamorous, she will find it a bad bargain having entered into this business, and you will force her to desert an ally that brings so much trouble, and distress, and misfortune, the advantages of whose alliance may never take effect ; or if they should be subject always to disturbance from this country, which it always ought to be, and which I know you are able to give if you once get your hands clear of America. What is become of the ancient spirit of this nation ? where is that national spirit that ever did honour to
this

this country? have the present ministers spent that too with almost the last shilling of your money? Are they not ashamed of the temporizing conduct they have used towards France? Her correspondence with America has been *clandestine*, compare that with their conduct towards Holland some time ago—but it is the characteristic of little minds to exact in little things, while they shrink from their rights in great ones—the conduct of France is called *clandestine*; look back but a year ago to the letter of one of your secretaries of state to Holland, “it is with surprize and indignation” your conduct is seen—in something done by a petty governor of an island—while they affect to call the measures of France *clandestine*; this is the way the ministers support the character of the nation, and the national honour and glory: but look again how that same Holland is spoke to to-day; even in your correspondence with her your littleness appears.

—— *pauper et exul uterque,*
Projecit ampullas, et sesquipedalia verba.

From this you may judge of your situation, from this you may know what a state you are reduced to: how will the French party in Holland exult over you, and grow strong; she will never continue your ally when you meanly crouch to France, and do not dare to stir in your own defence; but it is nothing extraordinary that she should not while you keep the ministers you have; no power in Europe is blind; there is none blind enough to ally itself with weakness, and become partner in bankruptcy; there is no one blind enough to ally themselves to obstinacy, absurdity and imbecility.

For these reasons, Sir, I am against the address upon your table, and most heartily concur in the amendment of my honourable friend.

Lord George Gordon. I am sorry to rise so soon after the meeting of parliament, in opposition to the measures proposed by administration; and I am more especially concerned that it should be against a complimentary address to our present Sovereign, moved by the honourable member on the other side of the House, one of his Majesty's Lords of trade [Hon. Charles Greville], and seconded by that very respectable Highland chieftain, the thane of Cawdor [Mr. Campbell.] But, Sir, many compliments cannot in reason be expected from the friends of liberty on this side of the House to that King under whose government the court of Great Britain has been rendered contemptible in the eyes of France.

France, and the friendship, commerce, and assistance of America cut off, perhaps for ever, from his subjects.

The distresses of the people at home, and the neglect of their possessions abroad, are becoming every day more apparent and intolerable, which render it impossible for me, as one of their representatives, either to compliment his Majesty, or approve of his conduct in such circumstances. Indeed, Mr. Speaker, to compliment his Majesty in his present situation, would tend much more, in my opinion, to illustrate the servility of the House of Commons, than to exemplify to the world any blessings of his government.

Would his Commons congratulate him on his drawn-battle at sea? Would they congratulate him on his retreat by land? Will they compliment him on the third year of the independence of the United States? Will they thank him for the honours and emoluments he has heaped upon his favourites during the course of the summer, particularly on the noble Lord with the blue ribband [Right Hon. Lord North], the ostensible minister, at the dismemberment of the empire? Will gentlemen rejoice and be glad at this fresh proof his Majesty has given us in his speech of his gracious intention to carry on the war in America? Will they declare their readiness to impose more taxes on their constituents? And will they answer to his Majesty for the people paying them without a revolt at home?

I mention the possibility of a revolt at home, because our constituents have borne much already; they have been patient and of long-suffering. They have felt a gradual imposition of taxes, till they have become an intolerable oppression; they have seen the revenues of the kingdom lavished in pensions, to the most exceptionable characters. They have seen their trade with America cut off; and they have had a successful example of their fellow subjects revolting from the expensive government of England, to the protection of a wise and virtuous Congress.

All these heavy calamities, with many more, which it would be tedious to enumerate, have been brought upon this country since the accession of the present King; which make me of opinion, that it is not just now a proper time to applaud his wisdom, or support his counsellors.

Much has been said of his Majesty's counsellors—I have opposed them in parliament with great constancy and firmness, and entertain as bad an opinion of their public capacity as any gentleman on this side of the House does. But they

they are his Majesty's chosen servants, whom he has been collecting from the different parties ever since his accession—men, I presume, after his own heart.

They proceeded in the war with our colonies according to his wishes, and America is now nearly lost to Great Britain. Their unhappy misconduct has rendered them contemptible to many of their fellow-subjects, and they have now little to depend on but his Majesty's favour and firmness. Yet, Sir, I see no prospect of a real change; for I don't believe his Majesty will be guilty of the ingratitude to abandon (at this crisis) his obedient servants in their distress; and I do not hear, or know, that the people are about to choose a Congress, or proclaim a protector.

The times, in my humble opinion, call aloud for a strong remonstrance to the King, setting forth our unparalleled grievances under his Majesty's government. When the people shew an inclination to demand redress, I will accompany them with the greatest pleasure; but I will not be seen complimenting when we should be calling to account.

I am afraid, Sir, I speak too loud, as that may give an appearance of passion to what I assure the House are my most deliberate sentiments. I will say no more at present, but hope to see you rise yourself, Mr. Speaker, in the greatness of your authority, and oppose this designing, mischievous address to his Majesty, which will be doing great honour to your own situation, and to the character of the House, and to the dignity of the people---whom God preserve!

Mr. *Penton* said, he could not sit still and hear things urged so very strongly upon so little ground. The navy was by no means in the state which had been represented. There were thirty ships of the line under Admiral Keppel, twelve under Admiral Byron, three in the West Indies, one in the East Indies, one in the Mediterranean, and one at Newfoundland, besides three in the docks and fit for sea.

Sir *John Wrottesley* asked, if the House was called upon for unanimity against France? If it was for war with America, he could not give his approbation to it. All that could be done, he said, had been done. If 50,000 Russians were sent they could do nothing. He thought New York, Rhode Island, and Halifax, should be garrisoned, and the rest of the army brought away. He concluded by reprobating the terms offered by the commissioners.

Hon. *James Luttrell* observed, that the address proposed, and the arguments made use of to enforce it, seemed to return

turn back to all the former errors relative to the conquest of America; that indeed it likewise breathed a spirit of menace and resentment against France, well becoming what Great Britain formerly was, well becoming what all men now wish it to be, but very ill becoming a country reduced to its present situation, by ministers who never yet succeeded in any plan relative to war or peace.

He admitted, that his Majesty's sole wish, in carrying on the war, is to obtain a peace consistent with the dignity of the Crown, and the commercial interests of the subject; but that all men must agree, there can be no reason to expect an honourable peace, but by exerting the utmost vigilance and wisdom in the plans and conduct of the war, in case the pride and elevated hopes of France should induce her to refuse an honourable accommodation with Great Britain; and he was surprised that any gentleman in his senses should propose to deceive his Majesty so far, as to set forth, that the war is likely to be carried on with wisdom and vigour, whilst the conduct of it is entrusted to those ministers who planned all our past humiliating campaigns: that defeat is in one word the history of this campaign; for where is it possible to look for any advantage gained, that can tend to humble our enemies? We have had no important expeditions against France; and in America, we have been obliged to relinquish Philadelphia; our forces considerably reduced by frequent attacks, and no new conquest acquired. The allies of America have been enabled to give her considerable assistance, not for want of spirit and activity in our commanders, who did more than could be expected from men in their situation, but through the most shameful neglect of administration; for government had full and timely intelligence of D'Estaing's sailing, yet he was suffered to proceed unmolested to America, where he blocked up the British fleet, let loose the privateers upon our commerce, took and destroyed fifty or sixty sail of vessels, had leisure to plan expeditions with the Americans, which occasioned the death of our brave troops, who fell in defending Rhode-Island; harrassed and distressed us for a whole campaign, and then retired without the loss of a single ship into Boston harbour.

Ministers at last named a squadron to counteract D'Estaing, but such a one, that we find no two ships were able to keep company together. The *Russel* sent home in distress; the rest scattered like wrecks upon the western ocean, unable to contend with the common incidents of a voyage; the Admiral's

ral's ship left unsupported and narrowly escaped being taken : in short, a squadron employed a whole campaign to overtake an enemy, that could never have passed the Straights of Gibraltar, had our Mediterranean fleet been timely reinforced, or Byron ordered to sea, instead of detaining his ships for the pageantry of a naval review. What heroes upon earth, acting under the orders of such an administration, could possibly lead us on to victory? What nation can be taught to respect and stand in awe of Great Britain, whilst its councils counteract its natural courage and misapply its resources.

He would not admit that our navy at home has hitherto been superior to that of France ; for we ought not merely to judge by numbers, but also by the state and condition of ships. In that respect the French were superior ; they were clean out of port, and some of ours had been eighteen months off the ground ; that if the British fleet had been clean, Admiral Keppel could not have been so many days looking at the Brest fleet without being able to come up with it, nor forced to attack in a general chace, which scatters and extends your line, whilst theirs are drawn up to receive it with one continued battery and wall of fire. It ended in disabling one half of our fleet, before the other half could get into action.

That the admiralty's refusing to protect our valuable possessions in the West Indies as sufficiently as in the last war, could only arise from our fleets being weakened and diminished, which was the more inexcusable, because the nation had granted most liberally and profusely to strengthen and increase our navy, sums amounting within these seven years to nearly twice as much as the seven years of the last glorious war : but how can it be expected, that the supplies will be laid out in strengthening our armaments, when we suffer ministry to raise money upon false estimates? for it was fully proved to the House, that many thousands of pounds, granted upon our journals for the express purpose of repairing the Dragon, and several other ships of force, did not prevent those ships from being suffered to rot and decay, though we were then on the eve of a French war.

That Dominica was a very heavy loss to this country ; and the only conquest we had made was the little, paltry, smug-gling islands, St. Pierre's and Miquelon, which produce nothing but rocks and dwarf spruce trees. The French Newfoundland fishery is on the northern part of the coast, and St. Pierre's on the south-west coast, under the eye of our settlers.

settlers, and was never a place of strength or value; the French might as well make the Isle of Man the object of a campaign, as Great Britain in having for its object those insignificant islands. If we have not the means to aim at more extensive conquest, are we fit for war? Or can we too much censure ministers, who made the war unavoidable, without first putting us in a condition to maintain the reputation of the British arms, and secure his Majesty's faithful subjects from falling an easy acquisition to our enemies?

That we never can obtain an honourable peace from France whilst we continue to act as if nothing essential to the commerce and consequence of Great Britain is at stake, but thirteen provinces of America; that to conquer France in America is impracticable, because of the great expence of supplying our fleets and armies across the Atlantic, whilst theirs are victualled and furnished by the Americans; that our East and West Indies are defenceless for want of a navy; and every thing that can be called Great Britain and its dependencies in the utmost danger. He would not agree to treat the independency of America as a new consideration; for, he contended, that few men in England doubted that independency, when it was known that France had signed the treaty. We grasped at any thing that talked of peace, but that all knew the conciliatory terms were offered too late. All felt the mischief was done, and past recalling. As to ministers who lost America, it was then, and is now a time for impeachment. As to measures, it ought then, and ought now to be the question, whether America is stronger or weaker than when the defeated you, whether our resources are greater or less, whether the object contended for is worth the vast price we set upon it? In short, whether, to gratify an inhuman revenge upon America, we shall suffer the ministers to ruin Great Britain?

In the present desperate situation of affairs, he thought it was a time to open the eyes of our deluded Sovereign, and not to flatter him. It is our duty to advise him to place at the helm of state, men of sound abilities and strict integrity. He trusted that such ministers might be found, at least the hope should prevent him from supporting the worst ministers that ever governed Great Britain. He thought that Parliament could not with any decency or honesty endeavour to persuade his Majesty, that those ministers who, by weak or wicked councils, had brought this nation to its present ruin, could enable his Majesty to carry on the war so as to obtain an honourable peace: but, on the contrary, lead the nation into such immense expence, and blunder the operations of war into so many defeats and disgraces, that France, Spain,

and America, might dictate what terms they please to Great Britain, whilst bankruptcy, mourning, and despair fill the streets with cries for any peace whatsoever. He should therefore vote for the amendment.

Mr. *Burrell* declared his approbation of the amendment. The ill conduct of the war brought on the wretched measure of commissioners; the sources of this country were still great, though weakened by an undecided conduct.

Mr. *Wilkes*. I have given all the attention of which I am capable, to the speech delivered from the throne, and since, according to our forms, twice read by you, Sir, to this House. I am unhappy that I find myself obliged to remark, that there are scarcely more than two particulars in the whole speech, from which I am not forced to withhold my assent. They are, that we are called together in a conjuncture, which demands our most serious attention, and that a restoration of the blessings of peace ought to be our first wish, and the great object of our endeavours. The conjuncture, Sir, must indeed be allowed to be most critical, and peace is not only desirable now, as at all times, but at the present period appears of absolute necessity to save this convulsed state from impending ruin. Thus far I believe a real unanimity prevails; but let me proceed. It is asked by several gentlemen, how is peace now to be obtained? Can any man point out a mode of restoring to us that blessing? I will hazard, Sir, an opinion, of which my own mind is fully convinced. The measure appears to me the only possible way of salvation to this country in the present dreadful dilemma; a dilemma into which we have been precipitated by ministers, whose conduct calls for the strictest inquiry, and the forfeit of whose heads, if the guilt lies at their door, can be but a poor amends to a ruined nation. The proposition is indeed most humiliating, but, if founded in necessity, the consequent national disgrace is solely to be attributed to those who created that necessity. I believe the acknowledgment of the independency of the revolted colonies is the only measure which can re-establish the public tranquillity. I sincerely think it would both with America and France, and probably prevent a future Spanish war. It would at this moment perhaps shut the temple of Janus. From the tyranny and mad conduct of an incapable and wicked administration, it is become the measure of a fatal necessity, if we are in earnest to preserve in any degree of prosperity what remains, if we would save our country from the brink of ruin, if we seek to avoid absolute beggary and bankruptcy. An universal discontent now prevails. The people have no confidence in administration. They are distressed

tested by the nation, and therefore continued in power. We sigh over American affairs, and all parties agree in lamenting that so little has been done by our fleets against France, after such an amazing expenditure of the public money on the navy.

The honourable gentleman, Sir, who moved the address, told us, that the Americans were determined to separate their rights from ours, to dissolve all connections between us. The fact is truly stated. They no longer consider themselves as embarked with us on board the sinking vessel of this state. They avoid us, as a tyrannical, unprincipled, rapacious, and ruined nation. Their only fear is, that the luxury and profligacy of this country should gain their people. It was a long patience and forbearance they practised before the idea of being dissevered from the mother country gained ground among the Americans. They were driven into it by our injustice and violence. Repeated violations of their rights, accumulated injuries, wanton insults, and cruelties, shocking to human nature, have brought about this wonderful revolution. Now it appears to me an impossibility to bring back the Americans to any dependence on this kingdom. Their first steps were marked by temper and moderation. They made the most humble and dutiful supplications to the throne, but at last were told, that no answer would be given. From that moment their minds were totally alienated. At the beginning of their justifiable resistance they were not in the least terrified *sævi formidine Martis*, when only peaceful inhabitants of the country, or of open towns and villages. Since the declaration of independence, firmness and vigour have governed all the councils of the Congress. That declaration was made at a moment, which proved them strangers to fear, and in their idea superior to all the efforts of which we were capable. It was in July 1776, immediately after the safe arrival of the whole fleet of transports, victuallers, and store-ships, without any loss or separation, and after his Majesty's troops, under the command of General Howe, had been landed upon Staten Island, without any opposition or interruption, as we were informed by our own Gazette. From that fatal æra has the Congress, or any one of the thirteen united states discovered the faintest wish of returning to the obedience of our Sovereign? No man will be bold enough to assert it. On the contrary, the Americans have increased in their hatred of us, and aversion, from the yoke of bondage which we were preparing for them, since we have brought into the quarrel the mercenaries of Germany, and the savages

ges of America, since plunder and cruelty have marked the progress of the royal army and its allies.

I will state our present situation with respect to North America. Torrents of noble blood have already flowed in this quarrel, yet the few conquests we made we were obliged to abandon. Towards the close of last year, we congratulated ourselves on the taking of Philadelphia, which was then called the most important city of North America, the seat of the vagrant Congress, in the insulting language of administration. Before the present year is half expired, pursuant to his Majesty's instructions, Sir Henry Clinton evacuated Philadelphia at three o'clock in the morning, and escaped through infinite difficulties to New York, very judiciously avoiding the direct road, where he knew the enemy were in force. The Congress returned in triumph to Philadelphia, and congratulated the inhabitants of North America on the important victory of Monmouth over the British grand army, and the evacuation of Philadelphia, as they had before done on the evacuation of Bolton by General Howe. They have bravely stood all the storms of adverse fortune, and are now almost sure of out-riding the tempest. Sir, the Americans have suffered greatly, but their sufferings were supported with temper and courage, for they were in the cause of public virtue. They bore adversity like men of fixed principle and honour, engaged in a righteous cause, and determined never to crouch to oppression. The war on their side was founded in the primary ideas of self-defence and justice. It is truly said by the great Roman historian, *justum bellum, quibus necessarium, et pia arma, quibus nulla, nisi in armis, relinquitur spes.*

What is their present situation? A powerful ally has declared in their favour. The French declaration goes much beyond what gentlemen seem to apprehend. It is mentioned here only as acknowledging their independence, whereas the preliminaries announced at Paris, on the 16th day of December, to the American commissioners by Monsieur Gerard, in the name of his Most Christian Majesty, asserted, that he would support their independence by every means in his power. After this are we in earnest when we affirm, that there is any probability of their returning to our obedience, to unconditional submission, or to any submission? It is an object of belief too gross for the fondest credulity, for ignorance made drunk. If before the capitulation at Saratoga, they rejected all our specious offers, are any offers now likely to be accepted? Or can they be compelled? Will another British army ever attempt to march from Montreal to Albany? Will the

the batteries on Sullivan's Island be again attacked? Will Sir Peter Parker ever again judge it advisable to make an attempt upon Charles Town, South Carolina? Will he promise that if the troops can co-operate in the attack, his Majesty will again be in possession of Sullivan's Island? Will any English general command in America an army better disciplined, better appointed than Sir William Howe's. A series of four years disgraces and defeats are surely sufficient to convince us of the absolute impossibility of conquering America by force, and I fear the gentle means of persuasion have equally failed. We have therefore only the dernier resort of parting with our old friends, who can no longer be compelled or persuaded to stay. Policy surely warns us not to do it in a manner to force them into the schemes of our ancient enemies, to weaken, perhaps ruin, the mother country. To me it appears equally unavailing and indecent to bring a railing accusation against the old foe of this kingdom, to talk of the malignant designs of France.

No plan of negotiation, Sir, has been left untried, but nothing has succeeded; for we find by the commissioners' manifesto of October the third, that they resolved on the decisive step of returning to England in a few weeks.

After the sword and bayonet of honourable warfare had been lifted up, after the scalping-knife and tomahawk of our assassin-allies had been sharpened against our fellow-subjects, peace at last was preached by our ministers, and a commission for restoring the harmony and union between the two countries was determined upon. To add weight and dignity to the measure, the two houses of parliament were to give up to this important service, three of their own members, as heralds of peace, that the sanction of a part of the legislative body might create an additional awe and reverence. To grace the commission, to captivate the rude members of the Congress, and civilize the wild inhabitants of an unpolished country, a noble peer [Earl of Carlisle] was very properly appointed chief of the honourable embassy to the Congress. His lordship, to the surprize and admiration of that part of the new world, carried with him a green ribband, the gentle manners, winning behaviour, and soft insinuating address of a modern man of quality, and a professed courtier. The muses and graces, with a group of little laughing loves, were in his train, and for the first time crossed the Atlantick. The next in the commission was only distinguished by a set of principles wonderfully adapted to the spirit of coercion and cruelty

cruelty hitherto prevailing, the principles of penal law*. I have only heard of one other principle belonging to this gentleman, the principle, as well as practice, of passive obedience in the northern department. But, Sir, this gentleman carried with him the real secret of the negotiation, and perhaps more extensive powers than were given to his colleagues. He knew of the order to evacuate Philadelphia, an order so disgraceful to our arms, so contrary to sound policy, long before it was suspected by either of the other commissioners, but he would not trust them. The other [Governor Johnstone] commissioner, who went from among us, possessed a superior understanding, an happy temper, and thorough knowledge of business. If success had been attainable, I am persuaded to his wisdom, prudence, and temperate conduct, England had been indebted for the restoration of the blessing of peace. But alas! Sir, all the splendid and unauthorised offers of the commissioners were, without hesitation, rejected. The happy moment was passed. The honourable gentleman knows the real friendship I bear him, and the esteem I have of his rare and amiable qualities. In public life I have always found him manly, firm, and consistent; in private, engaging, social, and friendly. Through the whole of this business he has followed the straight path of duty, and held one uniform language to us and to the Americans. I have been so used to see him in the minority here, that he will excuse me, if I figure to myself that in America likewise he continued in a minority with the commissioners, and that many things were transacted which he disapproved, but to which he was obliged to submit. He might think himself precluded, as we are here by many strange acts of the present majority of this House. On that supposition I shall not scruple to treat the proceedings of the commissioners with freedom, and hold myself secure of his indulgence.

I mentioned, Sir, the unauthorised offers made to Congress. The commissioners went exceedingly beyond the powers given them by the act of parliament, the only source of their power. Did they, Sir, dare to accept secret powers from the crown more ample than those granted by the legislature? Their conduct is very suspicious. I well remember,
six

* The principles of penal law, a large octavo, published by White, in Fleet-street, was written by William Eden, esq. member for Woodstock, a lord of trade, one of the under secretaries of state for the northern department, and auditor and one of the directors of Greenwich Hospital.

six propositions were held out to Congress by the commissioners' letter of the 9th of June. The three first, to consent to a cessation of hostilities by sea and land, to restore free intercourse as well as to revive mutual affection, and to extend every freedom to trade that our respective interests can require, were founded in the authority of the act of parliament which created the commission. The three last were a direct usurpation on the rights of the legislative body.

An offer was made by the commissioners to concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts of America, and to raise the credit and value of the paper circulation. It was artfully worded, but perfectly understood, Sir, both in America and at home, that we were to take on our shoulders, already bowed down to the earth, the burthen of the American debts, of the mighty sums raised by Congress to fight their battles against us. The debts of the two countries were to be consolidated into one enormous mass, and provided for by a complaisant parliament in the same manner. So extravagant an idea must fill every man with surprise and indignation. I give the country gentlemen joy on this occasion. They never flinch from their master, however unrelenting he may prove to them, to their country. They will now surely acknowledge, with gratitude, the fairness, the sincerity, the great tenderness and kindness, of their favourite minister. At the first rumour of an American war, the noble Lord with the blue ribband expressly held out to them a solid and substantial revenue by the taxation of America, in aid of their land tax, and other heavy burthens. Now, so far from attempting to lighten their load, he offers America to throw on the shoulders of England the additional weight of all her accumulated taxes. The most short-sighted of all animals is undoubtedly our country gentlemen of the true Tory breed. He has scarcely the sagacity of his pointer. Formerly he was very stubborn and reticent, and could not be driven forward. Now he is perfectly tame, fawns on his feeder, and is easily managed. Mr. Pitt first seized him, and after some little struggling, plunged him over head and ears in the German war. The noble Lord has gone farther, and transported him, weary and exhausted, beyond the Atlantic, where he is likely to continue much longer than he was in Germany.

The commissioners likewise agreed that no military force should be kept up in the different states of North America, without the consent of the general Congress, or particular assemblies. This was in effect making them a sovereign,

independent state, if no military force is to compel the refractory, or quell the rebellious. This concession is certainly not warranted by any clause in the act appointing commissioners, and was a manifest unnecessary usurpation of the power of this pliant Parliament.

The last offer is a gross affront to the very being of Parliament, and to the people, who alone can constitute a House of Commons. The commissioners offer a reciprocal deputation of an agent or agents, from the different states, who shall have the privilege of a seat and voice in the Parliament of Great Britain; or, if sent from Britain, in that case to have a seat and voice in the assemblies of the different states to which they may be deputed respectively, in order to attend the several interests of those by whom they are deputed. In the three conciliatory acts, not a syllable is to be found of any such intention in the legislature. Were agents from the different states of America to have a voice in this House to tax Great Britain, when by the same conciliatory acts they themselves and America could not be taxed?

It is possible, Sir, that the commissioners might be as little in earnest to secure effectually to the Americans what was offered, as they were at the time to demonstrate their good faith. They ventured, Sir, to assure the Congress, that the three conciliatory acts passed with singular unanimity. The contrary is known to be fact. I now, Sir, see many gentlemen in their places, who opposed all the three bills. When a bill of great importance passes with unanimity, I believe, Sir, that you think it your duty to give it a farther weight by the addition of a *nemine contradicente* in the votes. In the votes, Sir, you have not given that sanction to any of the three conciliatory bills. By the words singular unanimity, an Englishman would conclude that this was the singular instance of unanimity that session, in respect to the three acts, which were considered as one, and passed on the same day. The learned Scottish secretary of the commissioners must think differently; for I find eight instances, and perhaps there are more, in the same session, of resolutions and orders passed, and entered in the votes *nemine contradicente*. Of this number are those respecting the calling out of the militia, the relieving the Roman Catholics from certain penalties and disabilities, and Lord Chatham's annuity act. With the same regard to truth, he makes the commissioners declare, in their proclamation, that the French monarchy ever has been, and in its constitution ever must be an enemy to all freedom of laws and religion. I own, Sir, I was surpris'd at such

an assertion from a gentleman, who had acquired great reputation beyond the Tweed, as professor of moral philosophy in the university of Edinburgh. I thought that the French nation were formerly called Franks, from the freedom of their constitution: I have read in the best authors *, that the people of France were wont to be bound by such laws only as they had publicly agreed to in their Parliaments, and that the people were consulted about the heads of all new laws, and after they had given their consent, they set their hands and seals to each article. Such was the power of the people, till the tyranny of their kings, in later times, swallowed up all the rights of that nation. I beg pardon, Sir, for this digression, at so late an hour, but it was on a favourite topic, the rights of the people. I return to that important state paper, the letter of the commissioners to the Congress, of the 9th of June. The letter tells them, that, notwithstanding the pretended date, or present form of the French offers to North America, yet it is notorious, that these were made in consequence of the plans of accommodation previously concerted in Great Britain, and with a view to prevent our reconciliation, and to prolong this destructive war. This fact too is mis-stated. The conciliatory propositions were not made by the noble Lord with the blue ribband, till the 19th of February, and the French treaty was actually signed the 6th preceding, and the preliminaries were agreed to December 16th. The Parliament had been prorogued from the 10th of December to the 20th of January, notwithstanding the strong opposition of the minority, for in that period peace might have been obtained. The truth of the case is, that France trifled with the Americans till after the news of the capitulation at Saratoga. There was much ill humour on both sides, but it was not improved on our part as it ought to have been. A British general and an entire army becoming prisoners, made her believe seriously in the independence of America. Before that period, she had treated it as visionary, a mere phantom of a heated brain. The weak, infant connection of France with America is at length grown into strength and maturity. Spain was more in earnest, and from the beginning had effectually assisted the Congress by vast supplies

* Lord Moleworth, who wrote the account of Denmark, translated an excellent treatise on this subject of the famous civilian, Francis Hotoman, called *Franco Gallia*.

this House. In the late glorious reign, the bounds of the empire were enlarged in every quarter of the world, under the auspices of a brave, martial, humane, and heroic Sovereign. We are now ignominiously driven out not only from some of our late acquisitions, but from the greater part of our ancient possessions. The enquiry into this sad reverse is surely our duty as the grand inquest of the nation.

Some remarks, Sir, were made by the honourable gentleman who seconded the amendment, on the late publications from the families of two noble Earls. He thought it clearly proved from the letter of the son, that the father, so long suspected of guiding the measures of the state, no longer possessed any controuling power, or even secret influence. He avowed an unbounded respect, and a kind of family regard, to the noble Lord. I have the misfortune of offering in this instance very widely indeed with the honourable gentleman. I hold the public character of the noble Lord in utter abhorrence; not from any personal injury, not from a national prejudice, but from his demerit as a minister. He made the inglorious peace of Paris.

*Ex illo fluere ac retrò sublapsa referri
Spes Danaûm; fractæ vires.*

He boasted of that peace in a great assembly. I heard him declare, that he gloried in it, and wished it might be inscribed on his tomb-stone, Here lies the man who made the peace of Paris. The expression was more striking than original*, but the species of pride, which is founded in deep criminality,

* The original expression belonged to another Scot, a Mr. Thomas Scot, one of the Tyrannicides who was executed at Charing-Cross, Oct. 17, 1660. In the second volume of the state trials is an account of his trial and execution,

Sir Theophilus Biddolph sworn.

Council. Pray tell my Lords and the Jury what you have heard the prisoner say, touching this business of *putting the King to death.*

Sir Theophilus Biddolph. I did hear him confess that he did sit as one of the judges of the late King, and that he was *so far from repenting* of the act, that he did desire, when he died, that a *tomb-stone* might be laid over him, with this inscription, *Here lies Thomas Scot, who adjudged to death the late King.* p. 381.

At his execution the Sheriff interrupted him. Mr. Scot said, *I shall say no more but this, that it is a very mean and bad cause that will not bear the words of a dying man.* Then he prayed, wherein he

has

indifferent to her, whether you think proper to acknowledge her independency, or to call her children your subjects, and her provinces your colonies; the rest of the world would hear those appellations with derision. You will not be able to enforce any one act, except where your armies are quartered, and your fleets stationed. The very expence of those fleets and armies must exhaust this country. You experienced this for four years with raw, undisciplined farmers and countrymen. You are now to combat hardy experienced soldiers. Let pride therefore yield to prudence; withdraw your fleets and armies, give up this unjust, barbarous, and destructive war, and enquire who deluded you into this unhappy system of policy.

The honourable gentleman, Sir, who seconded the amendment, in a divine strain of eloquence, scarcely paralleled, never surpassed within these walls, has treated the speech with merited indignation. He pronounced it false, demonstrated it to be so, and called it the King's libel on Parliament. His was a most abundant harvest. He has left me a very small gleanings; only respecting the clandestine supply of arms said to be given by the court of France to the Americans. Sir, it was not clandestine. Frequent and considerable supplies were given in the most public manner, in the face of day. I had the honour more than once of informing this House, of several American armed vessels, and ships of war, being supplied with cannon, arms, powder, ball, and all warlike stores, from the royal arsenals and store-houses, both on the ocean, and in the Mediterranean. I gave the names of the ships, and the other particulars at the time. Was this a clandestine supply?

Much miscellaneous matter has been produced, as usual, on this first day of the session. The honourable gentleman, who moved the amendment, has taken an opportunity of painting in their true colours the last race of our kings, whom he called the accursed Stuart race, the bane of England. I honour those genuine Whiggish principles, in which I believe him sincere and determined. No man, Sir, execrates the memory of those tyrants more than I do. Yet one remark in the present moment I cannot forbear. The Stuarts lost every thing for themselves only, their crowns, or their lives. The empire remained entire, unbroken in every part. Nothing was lost for us. Under the third prince of the Brunswick line, administration has already lost us half the British monarchy, and the rest seems mouldering away. Nothing appears stable, or secure, except the ministerial majority in
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Sir Theophilus Biddolph sworn.

Council. Pray tell my Lords and the Jury what you have heard the prisoner say, touching this business of *putting the King to death*.

Sir Theophilus Biddolph. I did hear him confess that he did sit as one of the judges of the late King, and that he was *so far from repenting* of the act, that he did desire, when he died, that a *tomb-stone* might be laid over him, with this inscription, *Here lies Thomas Scot, who adjudged to death the late King.* p. 331.

At his execution the Sheriff interrupted him. Mr. Scot said, *I shall say no more but this, that it is a very mean and bad cause that will not bear the words of a dying man.* Then he prayed, wherein he

minality, must be allowed to be of the first cast. He lost us Newfoundland, passed the odious excise on cyder and perry, by which the excisemen got access into private houses, violated the national faith with the King of Prussia, was guilty of a scandalous profusion of the public money in negotiating the loan of three millions and a half for 1763, and advised a cruel proclamation, by which he persecuted the brave free Corsicans, as I believe he has since done the Americans. These, Sir, are the grounds of the hatred which I have always avowed. I agree with a late great statesman, that he has brought the King and kingdom to ruin. As to his influence being at an end, would to God, Sir, it were! Is the heir of that noble family being lately created an English peer, a proof of the father's now retaining no influence? Is the lieutenancy of a considerable county given to the same nobleman to be admitted as evidence that his power is extinguished? I give no private anecdotes. I only state public facts from a paper, which in such things only can be trusted, the London Gazette. I rejoiced, Sir, that the heir of that noble family was created an English peer, for I thought that the young Lord's unspotted reputation, intrinsic merit, and great as well as amiable qualities, would reflect back more honour than he could receive from a modern peerage of this country; but I was persuaded that he owed his English peerage, no less than his birth, to his father.

A brave, but unfortunate general, Sir, urges us to an inquiry into the causes of the failure of the late expedition under his command, and he asks a parliamentary inquest. I am likewise for that inquiry. At the close of the last session, he made the same request, which was refused by the same majority to whom he now prefers his petition. I have a high esteem for a parliamentary inquest, but there is a higher tribunal, that of the people, our constituents, ever ready to do justice to the oppressed and injured. As an Englishman, let him appeal to the people, and constitute the English nation the judges of his conduct and honour, in every point in dispute between him and administration, or even royalty. He observes, that the time will come for an inquiry. It will certainly come in this mode, whenever he chuses to publish the papers, which he furnished to, and are now withheld by, ministers,

has this expression, *I say again, to the praise of the free grace of God, I bless his name, he hath engaged me in a CAUSE NOT TO BE REPENTED OF.* I say IN A CAUSE NOT TO BE REPENTED OF. His prayer being ended, he was turned off. Page 409.

ministers, papers of the utmost importance, according to his declaration in this House, to the state, to Parliament, and to the public.

The amendment moved to the address goes still farther, and takes larger ground, including however that of the late American commander. It proposes to inquire into all the fatal counsels which have brought on a dismemberment of the empire. The justice of the nation calls loudly for it, and therefore my feeble voice shall be for that wise and necessary measure.

Governor *Johnstone*. Sir, I shall not dispute with the honourable gentleman about matters of verbal criticism, concerning the purport and tenor of which I know he is a perfect master, and much my superior: but upon the substantial parts to which he has objected, I will endeavour to give the House some information. But first he will give me leave to remark, that the scope of his argument does not bear the stamp of that accuracy for which he is so noted; for he blames the commissioners for offering articles too extensive and tantamount to independency, and yet he concludes his speech by telling you, independency should have been declared last year, and it should be declared at present. Now surely, Sir, it ill becomes him who wishes the American colonies to be declared independent, to find fault with those who approached so near to what he considers right to be done. The more ample the concessions, the more they should merit his approbation, according to his own principles. But, Sir, I consider the propositions offered by the commissioners as wide and distinct from that of declaring the United States free and independent of this country. The Congress thought them different, or they would have accepted the proposition to treat on the terms offered. The French think so, or they would not continue a war that must prove so injurious to them. It is true, to all good purposes they would be independent; but not to the bad and wicked purpose of forming foreign alliances for the destruction of this country, which has cherished them with so liberal a hand. By the propositions of the commissioners they must acknowledge the same King, and unite in the same interests with Britain. They must consequently maintain the same allegiance, and be subject to laws for treason against his Majesty. It is true, the offers are very extensive; but such as think them too extensive, must blame the misconduct of those who brought our affairs to so desperate a crisis, and not the commissioners, who were brought to propose, at once, the utmost terms which they thought themselves entitled

tilled to offer, as the only probable chance of succeeding ; and the issue proved, that large and extensive as the terms are, the commissioners did not exceed the length which it was necessary to go for obtaining the object in view ; for in fact, the ruling power in America has rejected these overtures as insufficient, and consequently no harm can be alledged to have arisen on that account. Those who consider the terms as too extensive, or who think that less ought to have been offered at first, should know exactly the situation in which the commissioners found themselves at the time of propounding them, before they can judge of their conduct in that respect. They left England with a full belief, that the great military force in America was to co-operate with the concessions they had to make. Instead of any movement from the army, to give weight and consequence to the terms of conciliation, orders had been sent to abandon Philadelphia, and to leave, in the most piteous condition, thousands who had joined your standard, or sought your protection. The orders had been made public ; the city was in the utmost consternation ; a more affecting spectacle of woe I never beheld. The commanders in chief, to whom the orders were sent, thought them, in all their train of consequences, so complete a dereliction of our interest in America, that they had (no doubt from the best and most honourable motives) advised some of the principal men, who had adhered to our cause, to make their peace with the Congress, and many hundreds, had in consequence begun their negotiations, and taken the oaths of allegiance to the different states. The orders to the army were so peremptory, that even the delay of four days to receive an answer to the first dispatch to the Congress could not be obtained. In this situation, to expect that the Congress or their army would leave their high and profitable situations, when all the fears from exertion, or dubious contest, were removed, was not to be imagined ; much less that new converts would come into your cause, when the sad example of others, who had been deceived and deluded by your promises, stared them so full in the face. At the same time it became necessary for the commissioners to do something, and the most extensive propositions that could be framed under the instructions were therefore the most probable to succeed, if not with the Congress, at least with the people at large, who would now see they had no longer any just object for the enduring the calamities of war, excepting the ambition of their leaders.

The commissioners had prepared a letter for the Congress

in

in a very different style, merely acquainting them of our arrival and of our powers, and with our friendly dispositions to promote a reconciliation, intending to have waited their answer; but the unexpected situation of affairs, occasioned by those orders I have mentioned, which had been concealed from us before leaving England, though dated near a month before our departure, obliged us to alter our resolution, and adopt the propositions that are complained of, with a view of informing the people at large of our fair and friendly dispositions, and of the utmost length to which we thought ourselves entitled to go. For, besides the evacuation of Philadelphia, the commissioners knew that 8000 of those veteran troops were to be sent off, and that General Clinton had actually meditated to abandon New York also; nevertheless, under all these disadvantages, the articles complained of will by no means bear the construction which the honourable gentleman endeavours to put upon them. He asserts to the House, and applies his observation to the country gentlemen in particular, that, after beginning the war on the principle of obtaining a revenue, we are at last come to offer to pay all the debts contracted by the Americans in the course of it. Now I assert, the article does not bear such a meaning; that no forced construction of language can vindicate such an interpretation; that it never was so intended, or so understood, by any person in America. The words are general, "That we were disposed to concur in measures calculated to discharge the debts of America, and to raise the credit and value of the paper circulation." Does not every one see that the consent of his Majesty would be wanting, upon a return to the ancient constitution, to several acts necessary for this purpose, in liquidating the paper money? Can any one be so inconsiderate as not to observe, that whatever reconciliation shall take place, that this of establishing the paper currency on some certain footing must be among the first measures to be pursued. A ceding of the quit rents and vacant crown lands, and relinquishing the port duties, and imposing others on all foreign merchandize, might also be in contemplation. I can assure the honourable gentleman that the payment of the debt by this country was never dreamed of, although there are many schemes whereby the credit of this country might be employed to assist the colonies, for the mutual benefit of both. The article being general, must stand unexceptionable to every unprejudiced mind who is not disposed to cavil, and it is liable to none of the interpretations attempted to be put upon it.

The

The next article the honourable gentleman finds fault with, is the proposition "for a reciprocal deputation of an agent, or agents, from the different states, who shall have the privilege of a seat and voice in the Parliament of Great Britain; or, if sent from Britain, in that case to have a seat and voice in the assemblies of the different states to which they may be sent, in order to attend to the several interests of those by whom they are deputed." Upon this subject I have only to say, that from its nature this, as well as every other agreement, was subject to the approbation of Parliament; that it appeared to me and the commissioners a most eligible article for both parties, if it could have taken place. Many able and judicious authors in the course of this dispute have held, that the Americans have a right to a representation in the general laws that are to bind them; many members in this House have uttered the same doctrines, and, if I mistake not, the honourable gentleman himself. In the plan of reconciliation proposed, many important regulations in trade, and of internal, as well as external policy, must necessarily take place, which might affect either party, besides that of levying money. A representation by the votes of freeholders, in the first instance, could never be carried into execution across the Atlantic ocean, from the impossibility of determining controverted elections. The absolute choice of the representative must be determined in the country from which the deputation is sent. The numbers are so small, that no jealousy could reasonably be created against the interests of the respective countries by the privileges to be annexed. Much knowledge and information would be derived to both. Many evils might thereby be stopped in their first progress. The situation would be most eligible and respectable for those who might be chosen. Is it possible, if such an establishment had existed, that the several mistakes we have committed respecting that distant country could possibly have happened? Neither, indeed, could the people in America have been so deluded in many things by their own demagogues, concerning the dispositions of this country, if men in a public character from this island could have mixed in their debates, to expose the delusion at the moment, or to have transmitted the proper representations here on any real grievance that might have borne hard on the people. Undoubtedly, this offer, like all other regulations of union, is liable to different opinions; for my part, I believe, whoever considers the subject most, will like it best, and those who have least examined it, will be ready to find the most faults. Let me ask this assembly,

now, what member is there among us who would not rejoice to see an American representative in his place, arguing on the means of reducing the power of our antient enemy? Those who would reject a return of the colonies, rather than admit of such an institution, know but little of the important consequences of North America in the connected chain of the British empire. The institution was calculated to meet the wishes of many well-disposed Americans. It was calculated to remove their several arguments, that they had no share in the legislature, which, independent of taxation, might bind them, and to obviate their complaints, that their petitions and remonstrances had been despised and neglected. It was believed by the commissioners, as it would prove in fact to be, highly beneficial to the interest of all concerned.

The next objection comes from my worthy friend below me, that we had given up the power of the Crown in the most essential part, by offering to agree, that no military force should be kept up in the different colonies, without the consent of their different legislatures. This was an article which we all know the Congress insisted upon in their several resolves and representations. It appears strange to me to hear the same gentleman telling you, as an excuse for the Americans in not returning to the line of justice they had severally marked out on their breaking out, and in the progress of this dispute, that they cannot trust us after what is passed, and yet to object to the only effectual means of all others to defeat that argument. The commissioners have said to them, that the means of coercion shall be removed, and the means of redress, if any unfair and oppressive measures should be attempted, is left in your own hands. The sense of the people alone will be the means by which his Majesty will govern you; but at the same time, no man ever mistook the meaning of the article so much as to imagine the officers were not to hold their commissions from the King. There is nothing incongruous in the regulation; it is the very constitution of this country; for the King can keep no troops without the consent of Parliament, and if, in the distribution of military honours, attention was given to bestow them on the most respectable families, and the most deserving men in the several communities, it might prove a means, of all others the most effectual, for removing any local jealousies that might remain.

I shall now consider some of the general observations that have been made.

My

My honourable friend has observed, that I was very sanguine in my expectations of success, and remarks, with an air of triumph, and his friends join in a smile of satisfaction, that the means which were attempted have failed. For my part, I am sorry, sincerely sorry; and yet I am glad the attempt was made. All men will now confess the Americans have a bad and a wicked cause; that they have no just object to contend for, being now united with France for the professed purpose of reducing this country. All good men ought to join most heartily to oppose them. If we saw such an union at home, under proper ministers, I have no doubt the success of our cause would be certain. While we are divided, I pronounce with caution: it is the state of parties at home, which makes me hesitate, not the want of resources, or the strength of the Americans. One set of men have lost the confidence of the people by mismanagement, another want to yield up all that is worth contending for in the contest, without saying at what point they will make a stand, or tracing the consequences of the measures they would recommend: but my hopes of the success of the commission were never so sanguine as the honourable gentleman states. The House will do me the justice to recollect, that I declared, in my place, that I believed the success would chiefly depend on the ratification of the treaty with France. I pressed the departure of the commissioners again and again before I was a member of it. I told you, that I believed, if they had once ratified their treaty offensive and defensive with France, that they would not recede without strong exertions, and I am happy to know that it has not yet been ratified in a constitutional manner. Why the commissioners were not sent off sooner, is a question that merits enquiry. I am sure, from the time that I accepted, no time was lost on my part; from the moment I accepted, to the time I was on board ship, there elapsed but ten days, and those, neglecting all private affairs, were employed for promoting the purpose of our mission, and I was at Portsmouth the day before the commission was signed.

My view always was, that force should accompany the concession, and that the Americans should see a manly, determined spirit of perseverance in this country, that they might consider well between the evils of war in a dubious contest, and the certain advantages of immediate peace upon the most honourable and advantageous terms. The noble Lord, in my eye, will do me the justice to say, that I wrote

a letter to him before my departure, expressive of those sentiments, recommending the regimenting the provincials and Canadians, giving them rank, half pay, and emoluments. The orders to Sir Henry Clinton, which were shewn me, breathed a spirit of activity and coercion. I thought, with the measures I recommended, the army was sufficient; I think so still; nay, I am perfectly convinced of it now, and I am supported by the opinions of the best officers on the spot. Instead of that, we secretly directed an ignominious retreat, after all the preparations and expence necessary for a vigorous campaign had been incurred. Can it be said with justice, that I have failed in my expectations, when every thing I was made to believe, and which I deemed necessary for the effect, was disappointed and contradicted; nay, concealed not only from me, but from the other commissioners with whom I had the honour to be joined? If I had known Philadelphia had been ordered to be evacuated, I would never have gone. The other commissioners have often declared the same sentiments on the subject. I remember well the honourable gentleman seconded the noble Lord's motion for the conciliatory bills; it was what he had been long contending for, as a right and proper measure. Were we afterwards to frustrate, or impede, what we on this side had so long sought for, and approved when made? My spirit of party connections does not lead me to this conduct; for notwithstanding the criticism of the worthy gentleman on the words *singular unanimity*, I still maintain the unanimity was singular on the subject of American affairs. In questions of such consequence, I do not enquire what turnpike bills had passed without a negative.

The honourable gentleman, after whom I rose, has also indulged himself in some other satirical smiles on the characters of the other commissioners: I am sure I am much obliged to him for the tenderness with which he has treated me, by much the most inconsiderable; after his tossing and goring so many ministers, I am sensible I am nothing in his hand: but I must beg leave to say a word for those who are absent. I believe the honourable gentleman takes the character of the noble Lord at the head of the commission from newspaper reports, as I once did. He well knows that nothing is so fallacious. I have such an opinion of his liberality and good humour, that in case he knew that nobleman as well as I do, he would be as ready to retract his opinions concerning him as I was, and as willing publicly to declare it; for a young noble-

nobleman of more worth, more honour, more dignity, or greater zeal for the public service, and the execution of the trust committed to him, I never knew. The other gentleman is so well known to every member of this House, and his reputation for business so well established, that it stands above my praise, or the honourable gentleman's censure.

I will now take notice of what fell from another honourable gentleman, who spoke most eloquently in this debate. He talks of the indignant treatment the commissioners met with from the Americans, and particularly points at their behaviour to me. I cannot acquiesce in this opinion; I make no such complaints, because I distinguish widely between the people of America and the Congress, because I make a just distinction between what men do in their political capacity and in their natural. The Congress seem to conduct themselves with the low cunning of an election jobber; their proceedings are often calculated for the mere herd of the people, who are as yet strangers to the impositions incident to such a conduct, and having all the newspapers under their direction, they are excellent engines of such ignoble policy, which may serve for a time, but never can last.

The commissioners were received at Philadelphia with all the joy which a generous people could express. Why were you so long in coming? was the universal cry. Do not abandon us; retain the army, and send them against Washington, and the affair is over: 10,000 men will arm for you in this province, and 10,000 in the lower counties, the moment you take the field, and they can get arms. The declaration was general and notorious; and I am persuaded, if we had been at liberty to have acted in the field, our most sanguine expectations would have been fulfilled. I mixed with all ranks of men, from the prisoners in the jail to the first people in the place, and, as far as I could penetrate the human mind, I believe the sentiments of reconciliation, and a return to the happy state in which they formerly lived, were sincere. But gentlemen say I am of an eager temper, and apt to be deceived. It is possible I do not pique myself on never having been deceived; I can only say, I never intentionally deceive. My judgment, my opinions, may be wrong, but they are the sentiments of my heart, and people must receive them with all those grains of deduction for my temper, and the weakness of my understanding. After this precaution, I declare that I firmly believe two thirds of the people of North America wish to return to their ancient con-

nection with Great Britain at this moment, and that nothing but a surrounding army, and the diffidence they have in our support, prevents that spirit from breaking out in acts of hostility against the Congress and committees.

We were more employed to restrain than encourage overt acts, because we knew, under the secret orders, that no assistance could be given to such efforts, which therefore could only prove ruinous to well effected, meritorious individuals. The honourable gentleman founds his ideas on what he has remarked in the proceedings of Congress respecting me—I shall ever think such a proceeding totally unworthy of such a body. Some gentlemen have praised it as an excellent refined stroke of policy, to get rid of an embarrassing question about General Burgoyne's troops. I again repeat, I disdain all that policy founded on injustice and dishonour; the more artifice to avoid fair dealing, the more detestable to me: it is contemptible in private life—where the dignity of a people is concerned, it is abominable meanness, and must end in the destruction of those who practise it. The spirit of their enemies is raised by all such proceedings, their own is always depressed. Of all the mean and notorious breaches of public faith which have ever been practised, of all the low chicane which has ever been used in the depravity of the eastern world, to avoid a solemn agreement, the different excuses offered by the Congress are the most disgraceful to society. I know the most zealous for the cause of independence disapprove of them: but America is governed now as England was, under a mock Parliament, and committees of major generals. I am not called upon to say a word on this subject, but I disdain dissingenuity. The accusation stated against me, with respect to General Joseph Reed, as far as the transaction pretends having authority from me to make the offer, is false and injurious; it is indeed very cautiously worded, and only implies being done by my authority. This I deny, and I have perfect proof in my possession, that Mr. Reed never understood any message or writing of mine as liable to that construction. While I say this, I do not mean to disavow I have had transactions where other means besides persuasion have been used. It was necessary; in my situation it can be no reproach. This of Mr. Reed I deny, and I can prove, by indisputable evidence in my possession, he did not understand any message from me in that light at the time, nor long subsequent. The conversation is said to have passed on the twenty-first of June. The mutilated letters that are to help
out

out this lame transaction were before Congress—the matter had been published in newspapers at that time, but not signed by Mr. Reed, nor by William Henry Drayton. The Congress take no notice of the business till the 11th of August; then the indignation of that virtuous assembly rises. At the very moment they are about to evade a solemn engagement, and transmit their names with infamy to future ages, they have the assurance to talk of liberty and virtue. You, Sir, are well acquainted with the forms of public proceedings; you know that any declaration of Mr. Reed, of what a woman unknown had said to him, could not affect me. The Congress, in this case, were bound to have obliged Mr. Reed to have named the lady, and next to have brought that lady before them, to have heard her own story, with time, place, and circumstance; this should have been sent for my answer, and then they might have pronounced their solemn judgment: but they knew full well, that no lady whatsoever would avow any authority from me, and therefore they wisely concealed her name.

Those gentlemen who are so extremely exulting at the ill success of this commission, and plume themselves so much on their proposition for conceding independency last year, should consider, if one of two events had succeeded, the proposers of conceding American independency could not have appeared with equal favour before the public. I shall suppose that Admiral Keppel had actually beaten Monsieur the Count D'Orvilliers, I mean destroyed half his fleet; all circumstances considered, the probabilities that he would have done so were ten to one, from so gallant an Admiral, and so superior a force. I believe the noble Admiral himself will not say, that the probabilities are not ten to one, that he would destroy the greatest part of the same fleet, if he was to meet them again, with the same proportion of force. I am persuaded it was owing to the accidents of wind and weather. I do not mean to throw the slightest imputation of blame any where. I only say, if D'Orvilliers had been destroyed, and it was ten to one this would have happened, how would the promoters of a declaration of American independency have looked then? Or is there a member of this House who believes we should then have had any more agitation of that question? I shall suppose again, that Admiral Byron's squadron had not met with a storm, and had arrived in America within the ordinary time to have joined Lord Howe; can any one doubt that his Lordship would have given a better

account of Monf. D'Estaing than is now published? And yet this success, and several other matters, were quite within the probability of ordinary events; and if any of them had happened, I believe this favourite topic of American independence would have been dormant in our days. Why then should we immediately despond, give all up, and throw ourselves out of the wheel of fortune? Let us profit from the example of the Americans, in the low state of their affairs, before their success at Trenton. I am far from thinking the matter desperate, notwithstanding I admit that our mismanagements will render great exertions necessary. But you must resolve, you must risque all, and determine to persevere, before the inhabitants of America will have reliance on you. It is not saying, I will try this campaign and recede the next. It must be known, for the encouragement of friends, and terror of foes, that you will die in the last ditch. People, who oppose my opinions, alledge, I am sanguine and obstinate. I admit I am not easily discouraged; and if I am sure of being in the right, I know too I am obstinate, or firm, which ever they please to call it, and I cannot be easily shaken. The maxim of dying in the last ditch, after every exertion has been made, is what I avow to be my principle. I do not foresee, if you recede here, at what point you will stand. If you give up the Thirteen Provinces, will you contend for Canada? If it is answered yes; why then, I reply, it is better to know the gracious resolution of Congress in this respect first, lest one may have the troops to send back, or recruit, at ten times the expence, when they are dispersed, or when half of them are dead. If it is said, we will yield Canada too; then I ask, if we will yield Nova Scotia, and the fisheries, and Florida, and the West Indies, for they all hang together? Besides that, the moment you abandon New York and Rhode Island, the American seas will swarm with privateers, and you will not have a port to take shelter in; so that New York and Rhode Island seem absolutely necessary for the preservation of your own commerce, as well as annoying the enemy. The present moment seems the only proper and just point where the stand can be made; every other situation will be an effort with the loss of reputation, and spirit, and power. I see no medium between sending a *carte blanche* to France, and yielding the independence of America. To give up a principal point in dispute, to weaken ourselves and strengthen our enemy, and leave him more at liberty to disturb us, seems to me incom-

comprehensible policy. If it is alledged, this would not be the consequence, I ask, what reason America can have for not explicitly declaring her intentions of conditionally renouncing her connections with France upon our declaring her independency ; or if such a transaction cannot be avowed till they are certain of our readiness to yield it ? I wonder some sponsor cannot be found for America on this occasion. I only state this to expose the absurdity of the system proposed, not that I conceive this country can, or ought, ever to entertain such an idea. The honourable baronet, behind me, tells you, that 50,000 Russians would not now do the business, and yet he complains of the conciliatory propositions proposed by the noble Lord. Why, surely, if no force could do the business, there could be no harm, at least, in trying the mode of concession. But, I am far from being of his opinion, that force, well applied, cannot effect it. He says, the army were all disgusted at the conciliatory bills : at the same moment, he says, their force was insufficient to conquer the enemy. This was a little unreasonable in the army, to give it no harsher term. I cannot contradict what the honourable baronet asserts ; but my observations on the army were very different. The army was indeed disgusted, but it was because they were not led against the enemy, then lying within twenty miles, whom they were confident they could conquer. "Lead us against the enemy," was the general wish of soldier and officer ; and, indeed, Sir, to the honour of the commander in chief, who left them at Philadelphia, I am proud to declare, there never was so excellent, so beautiful, or so well appointed an army. The picked men for the French theatre were not equal, in grace and comeliness, to the worst of the light infantry. Such a body of chosen troops, I believe, never were collected together ; and yet we have seen, from various causes, what little benefit the nation has derived from them : at the moment they were confident of victory they were ordered to retreat, and during all this summer, and half the autumn, incurring the same expence in the field, they have, literally, been doing nothing, when every man must remark, that the time we should have acted with the utmost vigour was at this very period when we have been idle. To determine what now should be done, requires a greater compass of information than I can boast. To judge of the question, one should know the state and disposition of Holland, of the northern powers, of Portugal, the resources of France, the disposition

tion and force of Spain, the various resources of this country, as well as the difficulties to encounter in America: with these first I am not sufficiently acquainted to pronounce positively; but this I know for certain, that the greater the exertions we make ourselves, the more we shall be respected by others; and the more we assist ourselves, the more ready others will be to give us their assistance.

The nation is far richer at this period than at the beginning of last war, and our warlike operations were then much more extensive in Germany, the East-Indies, Portugal, North-America, and the West-Indies. I admit that our public funds are now more embarrassed; but the means of taxation is also more ample from the increased wealth of the country. But I despair of the present ministers being able to draw forth those resources, even if they were to reform, or become more enlightened; they have so lost the confidence of the people, by such a series of mismanagement and neglect, that they never can recover the public good opinion: on the other hand, as I said before, those men who may succeed them, according to my conception of things, are delirious to yield up all that is worth contending for, without any struggle worthy of our ancient fame. In such a situation it is difficult how to act or what to wish. I am clear, if we do not mean to pursue the object with determined firmness, and suitable exertions, we had better abandon it at once, and make the best terms we can for the miserable inhabitants who have adhered to our cause. Nothing less than 25,000 troops, exclusive of those in Canada and Halifax, will prove sufficient; with that number we may expect success; a less number will render the decision tedious, doubtful, and hazardous. The people of the country, after what has happened, will hardly derive confidence from a smaller army to induce them to join us. Those who possess the present returns of the army, and know what numbers may have been ordered away to other services, will know the number wanted; I guess about 9,000 men. To keep New-York and Rhode-Island, as the honourable baronet proposes, on a defensive plan, does not appear eligible to me. If we cannot meet the army of the enemy in the field, it will require many troops, a considerable marine force, and very expensive fortifications to hold New-York. I believe by fortifying the gorge at Fort Kniphauten; by fortifying the heights of Brooklyn; by fortifying Paulus Hook, and the heights of the Narrows upon Staten-Island, it might be defended by 8,000 men, together with the inha-

inhabitants, always retaining in the harbour five frigates and three armed vessels, and three galleys: these fortifications would cost at least five hundred thousand pounds, and the object would still be precarious. Why the honourable gentleman should recommend an offensive war in Europe, and a defensive war in America, I cannot conceive. It seems to me more necessary in the last place than in the other. At all events, I would form some certain steady plan, such as the inhabitants might rely upon. If they see they can depend upon you, they will soon return to their allegiance, and their old government. If they see you weak and wavering, they are a shrewd, cunning, sensible people, they will avoid you like pestilence. Upon the whole, I acknowledge our situation extremely perilous, the difficulties we have to contend with are great; but it is on such occasions that the noble qualities of man, perseverance, fortitude, and love of our country, shine in their greatest lustre. Let us not imagine that those who oppose us are without difficulties; the contentions, divisions and sufferings among the Americans are greater than our imagination can reach in the state of affluence in which we live. They would have been greater still, if they had not been checked by our bad conduct and timidity. Their divisions, Sir, I assure you, are as great as those of the House of Commons of England; and what stronger picture can I draw of disunion? Those who are so uneasy at the reception the commissioners received, should recollect the reception Monsr. the Count D'Estaing and his sailors met with at Boston. The first was, the political answer of a body, whose interests and ambition are undoubtedly opposed to that of the people they govern; the other was the indignant, spontaneous passions of the people themselves; the House will judge to which of the two most weight should be given. Before I sit down, I must repeat again, that in what I have said about the operation of our fleets, I did not mean by my argument to throw any blame upon any military officer whatever: but I do blame administration for not sending out Admiral Byron sooner; they had the intelligence in April, he did not sail till June. It was clear from Mr. Gerard, the ambassador to the States, being on board, and Mr. Dean, a member of the Congress, and having also large quantities of goods for America, that the Toulon fleet was bound to some port in that continent. If therefore five or six ships had been immediately sent off (as the admiralty must have known Lord Howe's fleet was collected, from the orders about La Motte Piquet,

Piquet, and the secret expedition) upon such a junction his Lordship would have then certainly been superior to D'Estaing. But I am told that the reason of this delay arose from want of stores, and that we were obliged to unreeve the running rigging of the ships at Spithead, to fit out Admiral Byron's Squadron. If this is true, it is a melancholy tale indeed, after all our boasted preparations in the beginning of the year, and the immense sums voted by Parliament, and demands an enquiry more than any other subject.

I ask pardon of the House for detaining them so long, and now most humbly thank them for the indulgence they have shewn me.

Right hon. Sir *William Meredith* said, he agreed with the hon. gentleman who spoke last, in thinking the independence of America, considering it in the light of a total separation of interest and connection with Britain, was an event to be equally dreaded by both countries. But, if confidence in government could be restored; if fair, friendly, affectionate, honest terms were offered; would but the father of his people once run to meet them; would the people themselves extend a brother's arm to receive them; he had no doubt but they would view their own safety, and their own prosperity in too just a light, to prefer the protection of France to that of their parent country: but, he desired the House to recollect the language that had been held, and the means that had been used to procure peace.

Some time ago, a noble Lord offered, what he called, a conciliatory plan, by giving up the ground of the war, taxation. But, the very day after he had moved his proposition, he himself pledged his honour to a worthy country gentleman, that he would revive taxation over America, and tax them to some purpose, the moment he had it in his power. The next thing was the conciliatory bill, which was so managed, as to prove in its event not conciliatory but incendiary. It was blasted before it left these walls. Peace was never thought of; division was pointed out, and hoped for, as the best effect of the bills; and the principle of unconditional submission, not relinquished, but the impotence of enforcing it confessed with sorrow and reluctance.

The very words of the treasury bench were, that the bills might at least weaken the power, and counteract the views of the American leaders.

When the commissioners went, their errand was imputed, however unjustly and erroneously, to be a completion of this design,

design, not to unite America with England, but to break and divide the Congress among themselves, and to effectuate that division by bribery. Nor was any cessation of hostilities proclaimed; but burning and desolating, killing and slaying, are still to go hand in hand with this treaty. All the means then to procure peace hitherto, have been fire and sword, falsehood, and (as the Americans were told, though falsely told) corruption. From these seeds, true mercy and reconciliation can never grow; and truth, liberty, and justice, are the only means, under Heaven, to establish peace on earth, and good-will towards men. But those means are still to be tried. He was afraid, he said, the ministers would not employ them, nor would credit be given to their professions should they make them.

He observed, that the speech took notice of the prizes taken by the merchants: Long habits with commercial people had endeared every thing to him that promoted their honour and welfare; he rejoiced, therefore, to find an acknowledgment from the throne, that the merchants had done so much to re-animate the hopes of their country and reduce our natural enemies. He expected, therefore, that the ministers would account for that unexampled measure of exposing the merchants, naked and defenceless, to become a prey to their enemies, at the beginning of the American war. He himself had applied for permission for them to carry arms to protect them on their voyages, which the ministers denied; they were afraid, they said, lest they should fight the French too soon; they were also afraid of their selling their arms, had they been allowed them, to the Americans. The speedy commencement of hostilities proves the folly of hoping to prevent war by abject fear, whilst the noble spirit of the merchants shews the foulness of suspecting them of loyalty and duty to their country; yet, under that suspicion, their property had been betrayed into the hands of the Americans. With the fund those captures produced, they were strengthened so as to begin the war with great *eclat* at sea; and the ministers, by disarming our merchants, had really done more to serve America than the alliance of France. He believed, he said, that if letters of marque had been issued, instead of orders to disarm our merchant-men, they would have done more to suppress the troubles in America, than the armies, fleets, and councils of our present ministers.

He

He opposed the address, he added, for this reason ; that the speech admitted a failure of success in all our operations ; that failure must be owing either to bad counsels, or bad conduct in execution. The ministers, he observed, did not take any demerit to themselves. The imputation was therefore conveyed to those admirals and generals who had the misfortune to be employed by them ; to that imputation he never would consent. Incessantly have their characters been aspersed by ministerial agents ; but indirect, undefined, dark insinuations, is the most malignant sort of calumny. He was sorry to see it conveyed in so sacred a vehicle as the King's speech, and it would be highly dishonourable for Parliament to adopt it.

Lord North began with declaring, that since he had any share in the administration, the noble person alluded to as having an influence, had not the least, directly or indirectly ; so that noble Lord [Lord Bute] was clear of all imputations of that sort. Whatever faults had been committed, himself and his colleagues made themselves responsible : but he could not think that the removal of any one man, or of more, from the ministry, at this time, was of such mighty importance as to prevent that unanimity in supporting the dignity of the Crown, which was expedient at this juncture ; for if it was not speedily done, the kingdom might be lost. He was not against an enquiry, but this was not precluded by the address.

He accounted for the late departure of Admiral Byron's fleet, by saying, there were informations which made it doubtful whether the Toulon fleet was intended for America ; and if so large a fleet as Lord Byron's had been sent out before the destination of D'Estaing's had been certainly known, France might have altered her plan, and have attacked some part of Great Britain or Ireland.

He said, the Americans had now been offered every thing they could expect ; the terms were very liberal : but to have detached them from their alliance with France, and to have reunited them to us, the price was not too high ; though paying their debts was not one condition, as an honourable gentleman had observed.

With respect to evacuating Philadelphia, it was judged proper to diminish the extent of our lines, and to collect our forces within narrow bounds ; Pennsylvania, New-York, and Rhode-Island could not all be covered at the same time ; it was therefore thought best to station the army at New-York.

A right honourable gentleman [Sir Wm. Meredith] had called upon the ministry, to know what authority the commissioners had to give up the sovereignty of this country over America, and by this act to make his Majesty depose himself in that part of his empire. He did not know that any such concession had been made; nothing had been given up; for the Americans had not accepted any thing. The tyrannical Congress had refused all terms; but the people, tired of their usurped government, and of their new allies, if they found themselves supported by vigorous exertions from Britain, might be re-united to this country. It had been said, if Byron's fleet had arrived in time to have joined Lord Howe, and D'Estaing's fleet had been destroyed, the American Congress would have listened to terms; but this fortunate circumstance was prevented, yet no one was to blame; by the usual course of sailing he would have been in time, but a storm separated his fleet, and prevented it. But the spirit of the nation has shewn itself in the bravery, good discipline, and zeal of its national strength, the military; this should animate us to exert all our powers with unanimity in support of the dignity of the Crown.

As to the Dutch, it is their interest to be our friends; the major part of the people in Holland are so. Administration has not lost these ancient allies by any bad policy; the same difficulties, the same disputes, happened with them at the beginning of last war, and in the war before; they wish to profit as individuals, by being the common carriers at sea as neutral powers, while others are at war: this occasions the seizure of their ships; a loss to individuals, but not an object likely to bring on a rupture.

His Lordship concluded with urging the propriety of the address.

The *Attorney General* [Mr. Wedderburne] said, he thought the House ought to be unanimous in prosecuting the war with America; and told a story of the famous Admiral Blake; who, though he disliked the measures of the usurper, yet being in the service of his country, he called his crew together before he began an engagement, and told them, that however they might differ in opinion, as to the just causes of the war they were engaged in, it was their duty to lay aside their opinions, and unanimously to fight the enemy. Upon this principle he [the Attorney General] thought the House of Commons ought to act; being engaged in a war, it was a becoming duty to the crown to support it.

Lord

Lord *Howe* said he should vote for the address, as it did not preclude an enquiry. He wished for an enquiry; but thought it improper to be mentioned in the address. If any gentleman moved for an enquiry, he would second the motion.

General *Burgoyne* expressed how much he had wished to find an excuse to his own mind, for remaining silent on that day; that he believed few persons saw him offer himself to the Speaker's call, without feeling, in their candour, for the peculiarity of his situation; that in personal consideration, he could take no possible part that did not subject him to ill-will from various quarters; that in particular he had to expect the full vengeance of men in power, to compleat the sacrifice they had begun, if he took part against their measures, and at the same time he was compelled by his conscience not to support them.

He saw his country under every symptom of immediate dissolution. Her struggles, if such in their weakness they could be called, appeared the last struggles for existence. In such a crisis, he should hold himself unworthy the name of an Englishman, if he suffered any consideration to interfere with his duty, and did not set at nought enmity abroad and enmity at home, though it were the bitterest and most active of all, enmity of bad men against those they have injured.

That his concurrence in the proposed amendment was unavoidable, because it went to enquiry; that two gentlemen [Mr. Buller and the Attorney General] had particularized the miscarriage of the northern expedition, in which he was the unhappy principal actor; that he was, as last year, anxiously solicitous to bring that matter to a parliamentary inquest, not meaning thereby to preclude his accusers, if any such there were, of a further trial of him by a court martial; that he called upon those gentlemen, to use their endeavours in the House, united with his, for the purpose of that enquiry. He believed there was not an officer who had served in America, that did not equally wish for enquiry into the conduct of the war.

The great spring upon which the salvation of this country must depend, was confidence in government—and where are we to look for it? Was it to be found among the old and natural allies of this country abroad? The utmost comfort that the noble Lord [Lord North] had been able to afford us in this point, is, that he had done nothing to estrange
the

the old allies of this country. Did it appear, had we any reason to hope, that we had a single friendly port from the Archipelago to the Baltic? Even Portugal, so often saved by our arms, so constantly fostered by our commercial treaties, the very child of our generosity, forsakes us in our need, and makes her contempt an excuse for her ingratitude!

Was he mistaken in supposing we had not one ally? He should be happy to be undeceived. The information that, in opening a war against the whole force of the family compact, perhaps with the assistance of Holland, the information that we had a firm and well digested treaty with the courts of Russia and Berlin, would tend to draw a willing tribute from the public purse, and better assist our supplies, than negotiations between the Treasury and the India House, for months together. But if we had no confidence among our old natural allies, had we the respect of our enemies? He need only refer to the rescript of the French Ambassador, for an insult unheard-of in any former age; to the treatment shewn by the Congress to the Commissioners; and lastly, to their reply concerning the ratification of the Saratoga convention. He would join with the heaviest reproaches that could be cast on the Congress, for such a violation of public faith; but the instance, with all the ignominy that attends it on their part, will also mark our humiliation; for, however devoid the Congress might be of principle, their common policy would have been our security against such proceeding, had we not been sunk in their judgment, as in that of all the world, below the consideration of respect or spirit.

If we had neither respect with our allies, nor with our enemies, had we confidence at home? Where was that inspiration which in the last war attended our fleets and armies? It is lost in the observation, to which the military cannot be more blind than other men, that instead of union and sound direction, our government was become a compound of inconsistencies and incongruities, of principles the most remote, and formerly supposed irreconcilable. Obstinacy and indecision, rashness and pusillanimity, precipitancy and languor, made up what was called a ministry of department. They suggested measures, these framed instructions, these baffled, and then disgraced your generals and admirals. The minister took shelter in a convenient puzzle, a happy ambiguity, a *saving clause*, and found some consolation for a

national calamity in the enjoyment of a treacherous victory over those he had employed.

The General concluded by observing, that to consider the speech from the throne as the speech of the minister, was so odd a parliamentary doctrine, that he believed no person within those walls would be hardy enough to dispute it; but that there were other places where it was the practice, and the iniquity of persons, to represent a disagreement of opinion with the servants of the crown, as a disrespect to the King; that duty and attachment to the King were at the heart of every good subject; and, added to those feelings in his breast, there was moreover a deep impression of obligation for the great favours that had been bestowed upon him; that a noble lord had, upon a former occasion, recapitulated those favours, and possibly might do so again; but that, however highly they might be stated, his gratitude would accompany them: that under these impressions, it became peculiarly and indispensably necessary for him to declare them in that House; because, by the management of power, by a sort of ministerial spell, (never could that term of the black art be more properly applied,) he was precluded from professing his duty in the royal presence. That in speaking in that House, he spoke in the face of his country; and he trusted the time could not be remote when the voice of the country, and the light of truth, would pierce the gloomy atmosphere that enwrap the throne, and shew things as they were; when men should be judged by their conduct, not by their misfortunes; and when they who were the least successful in their actions, might still be found faithful servants of their country and their King in their principles, and never more faithful than in withholding, as far as in them lay, the sanction of Parliament to the misconduct of his ministers.

Lord George Germain, in answer to the General, took occasion to state his preclusion from court as a matter of course pending an enquiry; and his Lordship remarked, that the General had no great cause to complain of intentional hard treatment, as an order which had been sent him to return to his post when his health would permit, had not been enforced, notwithstanding he seemed to be in perfect health. His Lordship said, he had not seen the letter, nor the answer, but he understood it was only an acknowledgment of having received it.

Col.

Col. *Barré* rose and gave a general reply to the several speeches made on the part of administration. He said, he could never be persuaded to believe, that the objections made to the amendment moved by his right honourable friend near him [Mr. T. Townshend] would be sufficient to satisfy that House, on the ground of reason and fair argument, that a war with France involved in it inevitably a continuance of prosecuting the war against America, at least an offensive one. It would be, in fact, consolidating the interests of France and America in such a manner, and breathing such a principle of union in their councils, that no system of policy, however wisely planned or judiciously executed, would ever hereafter be able to separate or extinguish; it would teach the colonies to look on Great Britain as the common enemy; every advantage gained over us by France would be looked upon by them as an acquisition of so much power and strength thrown into their scale; her defeats or misfortunes would be considered as the defeats and misfortunes of the thirteen United States: in fine, all hopes of conciliation or friendly intercourse would be for ever banished from their thoughts; and the great issue would be, which party had the strongest arm and the longest sword. If this was the effective, nay, indeed, the obvious language of the speech, and if this language was to be adopted by the address, it behoved every honest man, every friend to his country, to measure our abilities before we committed the fate of this country to the event of so hazardous a contest. In making this estimate, it would be necessary to go somewhat into detail, in order to enquire into the extent of our abilities; our resources in men and money; to know what alliances were in our power; to examine into the actual state of the nation, &c. and upon a full and accurate state of the whole, to balance the total against the strength and resources of our enemies; and, upon a comparison of both, come to a conclusion suited to the circumstances themselves, independent of any consideration of false pride, false honour, or national resentment. The question in the eye of reason, cool reflection, and sound policy, could not be, what were the extent or magnitude of our provocations? but how far we were, or were not, in a condition to procure redress? France, he allowed, acted, in some sense, basely and perfidiously. America had, most certainly, entered into a most unnatural alliance: but it was not because France was insolent and treacherous, or the colonies forgetful and ungrateful, that we should arm our secret or declared

enemies with the means of following their wrongs with fresh injuries, or madly rush, in a fit of blind revenge, on certain ruin and destruction.

Much had been said by several honourable gentlemen who supported the address, to prove, that our abilities were equal to our resentments; that our resources were immense; that the Congress were tyrants, and were obeyed only through fear; that the people of America who acknowledged their power, had done so, not from motives of good-will, but to avoid punishment; that they universally hated the French, though come to protect them; that with such an augmentation as we could send out in the spring, we should not only be able to retain what we are already in possession of, but to carry on an offensive war, and make fresh conquests; and that divided among themselves, dissatisfied with their governors, and jealous of their new allies, the repossessing of America was still practicable. These assertions, however plausibly or confidently urged, were many of them doubtful, and others were known to be exaggerated or ill-founded. He did not mean, he said, at so late an hour of the night, to go into a minute investigation of each of those heads, to disprove the facts, or weigh the probabilities on either side. It was enough for him to maintain in argument, that no sound leading fact had been sufficiently authenticated to determine the conclusions of that house; and the rest amounted to mere probabilities, or rather possibilities. The speech from the throne held no such language; the two ministers present, who would gladly have caught at any circumstance which would have afforded them proper ground to stand upon, by no means relied in argument upon those vague uncertain conjectures; conjectures, he was bold to maintain, that might be urged in any situation: indeed, ministers were tired of resorting to such arguments, they were ashamed any more to repeat them, and they were cautious to persist in the same tone of prediction, that had been in every instance in which it was used most notoriously falsified. The speech disclaimed holding out such delusive hopes, and the framers of it were silent, in a great measure, on the subject; though they did not seem much displeased with their friends, for endeavouring to establish a mode of reasoning and conclusion which they had so successfully employed in every preceding stage of this fatal war from the very commencement.

Leaving, however, these long-sighted politicians to their very curious speculative researches into the womb of futurity, he

he should chiefly confine what he had to offer to the contents of the speech itself, the language of ministers, and the actual situation of things both at home and abroad.

The speech, in the first place, has given us a short history of the conduct of France, in very strong terms of accusation and reproach ; it has described our open and declared enemies in very plain, distinct terms, and it has not failed to insinuate, that we have reason to fear that there are other powers who have not yet thought proper to avow themselves in such a manner, as to give sufficient security that they may not take a part against us ; the passage itself is so pointed, that the best comment on its real purport will be calling the attention of the House to the very words. It informs Parliament, that “ the great armaments of other powers, however friendly and sincere their professions, however just and honourable their purposes, must necessarily engage their attention.”

If this intimation, thus artfully disguised in ambiguous language, did not amount to direct proof of the hostile disposition of Spain, it was sufficient to alarm Parliament, when it was coupled with the additional circumstance of the actual engagements subsisting between the respective branches of the house of Bourbon. . In considering the propriety of the present proposed address, it would not, he presumed, be stretching probabilities too far, nor appealing to remote or fine-spun speculation, to suppose, if the aid of Spain should become necessary, that instead of France or the United States single-handed, we should have to contend with France, Spain and America. The speech, he affirmed, imported this, or it created ideal bug-bears, merely to deter us from adopting the very measures it affected to recommend.

This, he said, brought him to the language held by ministers themselves, which he had a right to interpret as the best and most authentic construction of the speech. They framed it, and they must be the ablest interpreters of their own meaning. The noble Lord in the blue ribbon, who was considered as the oracle of that House, had spoken upon every subject but what was properly the question before the House. He had spoke as a seaman and soldier ; but had been quite silent in his ministerial character. He had mentioned the evacuation of Philadelphia ; the engagement off Brest, the 27th of July ; the failure of Admiral Byron, and the bad success of our admirals and generals, whom, as well as himself and his

colleagues in office, he was so kind to exculpate, and throw all the blame upon chance, misfortune, and the elements ; but on the strength of our enemies, and our ability to contend with them, he did not seem desirous to bestow much attention. The noble Lord was never, however, at a loss to start some subject which should serve him in the place of all other matter, and which at the same time should catch the attention of the House. Our fleets and armies, on the opening of every session, were to perform wonders ; but now they were only mentioned in the speech, to pass an oblique censure upon them, for " the efforts made have not been attended with the success which the vigour of the exertions seemed to promise." The noble Lord trusts every thing to the militia. If our trade and commerce suffer, if America is lost, if our dependencies in the East or West Indies are already on the eve of falling into the hands of our enemies, if the Mediterranean is neglected, and our valuable fortresses there in danger, the noble Lord settles all accounts with an eulogium on the militia. If France is leagued with America, and Spain should unite with both, what of that ? Even suppose that Holland should conspire, with our other enemies, in order to effect our total destruction, the answer, and the reason of every species of national confidence is, that we have a militia ; and, as long as we have, the kingdom is secure ; and if the kingdom is secure, so must every part of the empire.

For his part, he said, no man had an higher opinion of the value of such a constitutional body of men ; they were the best and most faithful guardians of the true interests, as well as the liberties of their country. It gave him particular pleasure to find so noble and so patriotic a spirit breathe throughout all ranks who composed that very respectable corps. He felt additional pleasure, when, upon conversing with an intimate friend and old acquaintance of his [Lord Amherst] now deservedly raised to the command of the army [*Here a loud laugh,*] who assured him, that the militia in general were as complete and well disciplined a body of men as he ever beheld in his life, and every way as fit for service as any veteran corps in Europe. There were many of his friends, men on whom he could safely rely, and who had particularly exerted themselves in putting that corps on its present respectable footing, that confirmed every thing he had been told by his worthy friend ; willing, therefore, to believe every thing that could possibly be said in their commendation ; willing to grant

grant every thing which the noble Lord could build upon that circumstance, what did it amount to? That our militia, aided by the standing military force of this kingdom, was able to make head against an enemy, so as to prevent an invasion; or, if a landing was effected, to repel the foe with disgrace and defeat.

But if he allowed this in its fullest extent, he begged that the noble Lord would not expect to take more by this admission than the assertion would fairly bear. Would the militia assist in recovering America? Would the militia defend our dependencies in the East and West Indies? Would the militia protect our fortresses in the Mediterranean, and our commerce? Would the militia save Ireland from invasion? Would the militia co-operate with our navy, and be the means of giving it a superiority over that of France and Spain? If all those questions must be answered flatly in the negative, then, whatever other stress the noble Lord laid upon the aid of the militia amounted just to this, that it was equal to the task of defending this country and no more; and that all our dependencies, of every description, must fall if attacked; or depend upon fleets and armies for security, protection and defence.

But he begged leave to remind his Lordship, that even in respect of the home-defence, other circumstances called for his Lordship's attention, or those whom he advised with on military affairs; for though every thing which men fighting for all that was dear to them might be well expected from the militia, it was necessary to put all tenable places in a posture of defence. A numerous and well disciplined enemy can only be retarded by fortresses and strong posts; such impediments serve to divide their force, to protract operations, and embarrass and obstruct their progress into the country. Double care should be used in putting our naval arsenals into a proper state of resistance; no endeavours should be wanting to render, as much as possible, the metropolis inaccessible to any sudden approach; and if, in case of landing in the northern or southern parts of the kingdom, the force of the nation should be necessarily divided, one part or the other must submit, or a battle be hazarded upon unequal terms, if the enemy had no obstruction but what they should meet in the field. Independent of these particulars, there were several parts of the island vulnerable; and which it would be impossible for the militia to defend---But he begged pardon of the House; he forgot that the noble Lord in the blue ribbon was warden

of the Cinque Ports. If he had recollected that circumstance, he would not have taken up the time of the House on so unnecessary precaution. The Cinque Ports were so many towns intrusted with the defence of the kingdom, for which, in return, they enjoyed several peculiar and beneficial privileges. His Lordship, happily for the kingdom, filled the important post of directing that mode of ancient defence; and there was little doubt but his Lordship, from the same generous motives which induced him to accept of the trust, would take care to see it faithfully and effectually executed. What then had the kingdom or empire to dread? The militia could defend it from all hostile attacks on land, and the Lord Warden would protect it against all maritime hostility.

He said, the speech fairly pointed out our enemies; but the noble Lord, except in the instances alluded to, forbore to mention our means of resistance out of the kingdom, and, in fact, acknowledged that our dependencies lay at the mercy of our enemies. France was already superior to us in the Mediterranean, and in the East and West Indies. If then Spain should take part in the quarrel against us, was it not evident that our dependencies must inevitably fall, almost without striking a blow? And if the same contingency should fall out, was it not equally evident, that France, already nearly equal to us in the European seas, would, if joined by Spain, be infinitely an over-match for us. This, he contended, was the single point which called for the most serious consideration of the House---Shall the address go to the throne in its present form? Shall we run the risque of being stripped of every foot of land we possess beyond low water mark, upon the single event of Spain joining with France? But suppose Spain should think proper for the present to desist, shall we urge an uncertain war with France to no purpose; when, whatever our successes may be, it will always be in the power of Spain to rob us of the fruits of our victories, and to prevent us from any indemnification for our waste of blood and treasure, by prescribing to us, upon the pretence of amity, any terms she pleases, be they ever so disgraceful or inadequate?

He then proceeded to consider the peculiar state of the sugar islands, which he affirmed had been most shamefully neglected, though he had predicted literally what had since happened, and pressed frequently upon ministers in that House to make a suitable provision for their protection and security. [*Here another loud laugh.*] He said, gentlemen were very welcome

welcome to make merry at his expence, but that should never prevent him from discharging his duty. Soon after we received accounts of the termination of the last campaign ; but more particularly, as soon as ministers had no longer even the colour of a pretence for supposing that France had no intention of interfering in the dispute with our colonies, he endeavoured to awaken them to a proper sense of the danger the West India islands would be in, and how very necessary it was to send an immediate and effectual supply for their protection and defence. The answer given by the noble Lord and his coadjutor was, the task of defending our possessions in the West Indies by a land force is impracticable, and would be in a great measure inefficacious ; our distant dependencies must be ever protected by a naval force. As long as we are superior at sea, our insular dependencies must be defended by our superior fleets. While we continue masters at sea, the West India islands would have nothing to fear from France ; it would be therefore totally absurd to put the nation to an unnecessary expence. I doubted of this reasoning, said he, at the time, because I did not believe that we were in a state of naval preparation to sufficiently afford that species of assistance on which ministers seemed so confidently to rely. I stated my doubts and fears, and they have been realized exactly as I foresaw. What has happened ? Dominica, one of your most valuable islands, has fallen into the hands of the enemy. Where was your boasted naval superiority ; when two frigates and a few sloops, &c. were permitted to land a military force, and make a conquest of this very valuable and important island ? Did not I tell you, in my place, when the army returns were laid upon your table, that 1200 men were not a sufficient defence for the whole of your dependencies in the West Indies ? Hath not what I urged upon that point proved literally true ?

But ministers, by their public conduct, as well as their conduct in this House, have affected to treat the loss of Dominica as a matter of little, or indeed of no importance ; they have not deigned even to give it a place in the Gazette, though they have communicated, through the same channel, the important intelligence of the taking of the island of Miquelon and St. Pierre.

Here, he said, he must enumerate the particulars of this glorious conquest, in which he talked of the oil, blubber, and 170 muskets, and the formality of the capitulation ; he happened to say, that his information on this subject was from an officer, as brave and as able a man as he ever knew,
and

and for whom he retained the highest personal esteem, which occasioned another loud laugh: he proceeded, however, and drew this conclusion; that no better proof could be given of the uniform spirit of delusion and imposition which pervaded the conduct of ministers, than the omitting any mention of the loss of Dominica in the Gazette, and at the same time dwelling with such an appearance of exultation and pomposity on the taking of a barren island in the northern sea, and a few fishing boats, tons of oil, and rusty muskets*.

He next proceeded to contrast the loss of Dominica with that of Miquelon and St. Pierre. He said there were documents which would prove, that the imports into this country from that island in the year 1773, amounted to 268,000*l.* more, five times over, than the fee simple of Miquelon; and the exports from hence to 50,000*l.* and he presumed, though he did not pretend to ascertain the fact; that both since that period were considerably on the increase; if so, then surely ministers were most unpardonably to blame, to trust the defence of so valuable a possession to 171 men rank and file; which appeared to be the whole of the force on the island, at the time of the last returns laid before that House by the proper officer; and by the terms of capitulation, that force, inadequate as it was, appeared to have been considerably diminished: but when other circumstances were mentioned, he had no doubt but the House would hear them with astonishment and indignation.

Ministers, when it answered the temporary purposes of debate; had, as already mentioned, condemned any other means of defence, but what could be derived from a superior fleet: but they were not always of that opinion; for he could prove, from parliamentary documents, and from the testimony of an honourable gentleman in his eye, [supposed to mean A. Bacon,] that vast sums had been granted by Parliament for the internal defence of Dominica, no less than the sum of 64,000*l.* within a very few years, the principal part of which passed through that honourable gentleman's hands. Fortresses were erected, posts fortified; but it seems man to man to defend them were thought totally unnecessary: nay, so eager was administration to render the island invulnerable, that before a brick was laid, or any previous step taken, no less than the trifling

* The account of the French taking Dominica was not published in the London Gazette till the first of December 1778.

trifling sum of 5000*l.* was paid for surveying the island, and giving in plans of the strong holds, batteries and forts thought necessary to be erected. It was true that a very formidable train of artillery, amounting to upwards of 170 pieces of cannon, was included in the sum already mentioned; but most unfortunately, every shilling that had been expended was not only rendered of no service in defending the place for want of men, but was so much money worse than thrown away, because it was actually laid out for the benefit of our enemies; for every single gun taken, or work raised, would be employed either defensively or offensively against us.

He said, such was the first fatal blow struck in the West Indies; and, considering the vicinity of the French sugar islands, their military strength, and our naval imbecility, in that quarter of the globe, he should not be at all surprized to hear of other of the islands sharing the same fate, and in the end, of our being stripped of every single foot of land we possessed there.

He lamented the melancholy situation of the unhappy persons who had their property in those islands, considering the very precarious tenure by which they held it; he said, if something were not speedily done, the West India merchants and planters must be totally ruined. He was well informed, that the worst consequences were dreaded by that very useful and respectable body. He had the pleasure of knowing a gentleman who had very large possessions and extensive dealings in those islands, whose public and private character does him honour in the opinion of every party; the gentleman was an alderman, and a member of that House, whom he did not now see in his place, he should therefore take the liberty to mention his name; it was Mr. Oliver, who, on account of the critical situation of his affairs, had resolved to quit all his connections here as a public man, and repair to the West Indies, to take care of his private concerns. He highly approved of his prudence, as well as his public declaration, that allegiance was due only where it was returned by protection; for where the latter was omitted through neglect, or wilfully withheld, either directly or by consequence, the former was no longer due.

After dwelling very fully on these several heads, he referred to that passage in the address which seemed to cast a censure on the commanders by sea and land, which he treated with the utmost severity, as robbing men of the first professional character in this country, and of the first respect as individuals,

of what to a seaman or soldier must be dearer than life, of their fame and reputation; and that in order to cover or palliate their own blunders and gross incapacity as ministers. No man who had tried them, he affirmed, would suffer himself to be again deceived, misrepresented, and, as far as their power went, eventually disgraced. No man but a mad-man, and one totally regardless of his own honour and reputation, after what had already happened, would trust both, not to the fortune of war, but as the mere scape-goat, to answer for the crimes and follies of men every way inadequate to fill the important stations in which they were placed. To support this assertion, he appealed to the proper knowledge of the House, if every man who had been employed under the present administration had not in some measure been disgraced; whether in their absence they had not been shamefully villified and traduced; whether they had not been misrepresented openly, or their characters secretly assassinated in print, in ministerial pamphlets and newspapers, in conversations both within and without their doors.

But if no other reason existed for the great names which he alluded to declining any service under such an administration, the mode lately adopted for carrying on the war in America was sufficient to make them fly from such a service with horror, and with the utmost abhorrence of those who were the authors and advisers of it. Englishmen, naturally brave, generous and humane, must revolt at any service so utterly repugnant to their feelings, and the principles which they imbibed by their habits and education under a free government. As soldiers, they must refuse to carry so barbarous a plan into execution; as citizens, they must detest any plan of policy which must terminate in slavery or extirpation.

A learned crown officer over the way, supposed to have great weight in our public councils [Attorney General], had, with his usual address, endeavoured to shew, that the duties of an officer were merely ministerial; that he must execute his orders punctually, without questioning their political propriety or their justice; and, in support of this opinion, referred to a well known anecdote of the celebrated Admiral Blake, who, on discovering, on some occasion, that the officers who served under him were dissatisfied with the service they were engaged in, convened them aboard his own ship, and told them, the question to be considered by them, as professional men, was not, whether the powers they acted under

der were such as they approved of, but whether, having the defence of the kingdom and the British flag committed to their care, they should not do all in their power to preserve both and distress the common enemy. He allowed, that when men embarked in a command, and accepted of a service with all its annexed conditions, they were bound by the reasoning of Blake, and were in duty and honour engaged to acquit themselves according to their particular situation at the time: but he was certain, that Blake then, and every officer now, in the capacity of a citizen and a representative in this House, stood justified in declining any service of which he disapproved, or censuring, as a senator, any measure of policy which he looked upon to be contrary to the usages of war, or repugnant to the honour and interest of his country; and as to the very matter alluded to, he was satisfied that Blake, as a citizen and member of that House, in his senatorial character, would gladly have contributed to pull down the form of government and usurpation under which he fought and conquered as a seaman.

Mr. *Rigby* said, the question between this country and America was totally changed. It was no longer a struggle for popular rights, no matter whether ideal or well founded; on one side, or of a system of treaty, lenity, and good-will, leading to conciliation, on the other. France and America were now to be considered as one power, formed of two parts; their declared interests were the same, so was their friends and enemies; it was therefore impossible to separate them in any one point of view in which they could possibly be considered.

The right honourable gentleman at the table [Mr. *Townshend*], who had moved the amendment, framed it on a supposed distinction, that America could be detached from her engagements with France; or if not, by ceasing to prosecute the war in that country, the colonies might be induced to a neutral part. Such an idle and vain supposition, he must confess astonished him, when it was evident, that almost every person who spoke in favour of the amendment, concluded, that so far as the present cause of quarrel between France and Great Britain could be supposed to operate, the United States would never relinquish their engagements with the court of Versailles.

He gave his opinion thus freely, as a British senator, totally unacquainted with the real motives which may have determined

determined the national councils. He had often declared before, and he now wished to repeat it, that neither his situation nor habits of life, furnished him with any means of information, but what he heard within those walls, or in common conversation. So far as those lights were sufficient to direct him, he had formed his opinions, and he thought they enabled him to pronounce without reserve, that France and America should be considered as *one enemy*; and that every concession offered to either, must in reality be applied to both. Suppose, for instance, that our fleets and armies should be recalled from America, or our offensive operations suspended, was war to be pursued against France? If it was, he was ready to maintain and prove, that such a war would be deemed by the colonies, to all intents and purposes, a continuance of hostilities against them; and would involve similar consequences as if made upon themselves. The amendment, therefore, in his opinion, meant nothing, unless it was intended to be followed by a concessional treaty, the basis of which, besides relinquishing every claim of superiority over America, must be accompanied by other concessions not less disgraceful, though not perhaps so destructive to the power and interests of this country.

The honourable gentleman who spoke last wished, he said, sincerely for unanimity. He professed so strong a desire for it, that he said he would agree to almost any address, in the present posture of affairs, sooner than let our enemies know that we were divided, so that it could be done consistently with the public safety. He *admired* the honourable gentleman's candour; but, for his part, he would never publicly approve of measures which he secretly disliked. He knew the value of union as well as any man; but he should never consent to purchase it, at the expence of his conscience, or when contrary to his judgment. The hon. gentleman and his friends *might* be in administration to-morrow; but whether those at *this* or *that* side of the House were in power, *he* was determined never to make a surrender of his understanding to strengthen the administration of any set of men in office. If they acted right, that to him would always be a sufficient inducement to give them his support; when they acted wrong, nothing should prevail on him to contradict his own sentiments. He would never purchase union at such a price; and if the honourable

honourable gentleman's friends should come into place, and the argument of unanimity should be urged, as a *reason* for his supporting measures contrary to his own judgment, it would never weigh with him; for he should look upon himself at full liberty to determine on the particular circumstances, as they might arise, and by no means bound to any assent but what was preceded by conviction.

The address moved was, as usual, a reply and approbation to the King's speech. The amendment, though recommending vigorous measures to be adopted against France, and for the general defence of the empire, was in fact a negative. He therefore wished that gentlemen would consider the real question before the House, and give their vote accordingly; and seriously reflect, that a negative on the present occasion, under any specious pretence whatever, would amount to a direct refusal of supporting his Majesty against his open and declared enemies; and that, under circumstances of aggravation, of insolence, and perfidy hitherto unknown to any sovereign of this country for many ages. On this narrow ground the question at present stood; and whatever motives of policy might hereafter shew themselves in this business, the judgment of the House must be solely determined by the consideration, whether France was or was not to be resisted in her perfidious attacks and treacherous machinations on the interests and honour of this country.

Much, he said, had, in the course of the debate, been urged against the conduct of ministers, both respecting the measures planned by them, and their supposed ill-treatment of those to whose care they committed the carrying them into execution. He meant the officers intrusted with superior commands in the army and navy.

The honourable gentleman who spoke last had relied much in argument upon this latter circumstance; but he begged leave to differ with him entirely, both as to the fact and conclusion. One great naval officer had expressed himself in favour of the address, by saying, he should vote for it; and had expressed his disapprobation of an enquiry (contradicted by his Lordship by a nod of dissent.) But supposing it were otherwise, he could not perceive what direct relation an inquiry had to the address; they were not incompatible with each other. The address might be agreed to this night, and an inquiry might be moved at
any

any subsequent period in the session. For his part, he could not perceive either the meaning or necessity of a previous inquiry. The address might be necessary, so might the inquiry; but to postpone the former, till the latter took place, appeared to him a most extraordinary proposition. As far as he could learn, there was *no* blame imputed, in any particular instance, but in one he should immediately mention; and the passage in the speech, so invidiously commented on, imparted no censure upon any person. It said, and said truly, that our successes had *not answered* our expectations; but that no more implied any degree of censure, than the disappointments which the events of war are subject to. The exception he alluded to was, in respect of an honourable gentleman under the gallery, [General Burgoyne.] He did not presume to throw any blame upon that officer; but certainly the failure of the expedition committed to his charge was the real cause of all our subsequent misfortunes; of the interference of France, and of every calamity that has since happened. He was not very fond of inquiries, unless he thought there was an urgent occasion for them; but he acknowledged that he would be extremely well pleased to have that particular matter fully examined and sifted to the bottom. He thought there was mismanagement *somewhere*; and as he could not pretend to determine, without proof, so he earnestly wished that, at a proper season, the necessary steps might be taken, in order to fix the blame where only it ought to rest. He was aware that such an inquiry could not be set on foot at present, because the honourable gentleman was not amenable, by the laws of war, to any tribunal in this country. Whenever the day *should arrive*, that he was free from the conditions of his captivity, that would be the proper time to inquire into his conduct, and how far he was, or was not justified by his instructions; in the mean time, all inquiry must be suspended.

Mr. T. Townshend closed the debate, by replying shortly to the several objections stated to his motion. The House grew clamorous for the question, which being put at half after two o'clock in the morning, the House divided:

For the amendment	107
Against it	226

November 27.

Report of the address.

Sir *Philip Jennings Clerke* said, he found himself under the necessity either to put a negative upon the address, or to contend for the amendment proposed the day before. He said it was highly improper, at this crisis, to pay compliments to the throne, at a time of public calamity, when the safety of the kingdom was manifestly at stake, and every hour was pregnant with some new instance of the incapacity of the present ministers. It appeared to him highly injurious to the nation to promise his Majesty the effectual support of that House, in measures destructive of his dominions, and for continuing in office men who were resolved to adhere to the same ruinous plans that had brought us into our present alarming situation.

Mr. *Adam* said, he had offered himself to the House, in the course of the night before; but as he found the debate in much abler and more important hands, he did not persist in his intention of speaking then. That he would have been happy, however, to have succeeded in his attempt to speak on the former day, as the arguments he meant to take notice of were then fresh in the memory of the House. However, as he had failed in that, he would beg leave to recall the attention of the House to what had passed on that occasion, though it was not perfectly consistent with order to allude to the former debate upon the report. He then said, that an honourable gentleman over-against him [Sir William Meredith] had asserted that the conciliatory bills had passed much contrary to the inclination of the House, though there had been no opposition to them, and that the reluctant countenances of every person present had shewn the ill-will they bore to that measure, which had not passed without singular unanimity. Mr. Adam said, it was not his business to decide how far the House, which had consented to that measure, *nemine contradicente*, with apparent reluctance, had consented with singular unanimity or no. He only wished to put in a word for himself. That if he was not the only person, he was the first person that gave his opinion against those bills. That having done what he thought his duty in delivering that opinion, he did not think he would have been justifiable in carrying his opposition farther to a measure which was of so singular a nature as to meet with the united approbation of both sides of the House. He therefore avoided saying *no*, upon the question being called, as he thought an individual ought to acquiesce after having given his opinion, where that opinion was single, and that he would

not have acted a proper part, if he had prevented that vote from going to America with all the force of *nemine contradicente* strongly attached to it, as that seemed to be thought a matter of considerable importance by every other person, and tending very much to the success of the measure. That he must take the liberty of telling the House, that his predictions with respect to the effect of those bills had been fulfilled; that the ministers, after having debased their country by an inconsistent conduct and mean concession, had reaped no advantage whatever from that measure.

He said, nobody had a higher opinion of the resources of this country than he had, if they were in the hands of men who could call them forth; that the spirit of this country was still capable of producing great efforts; that in the course of the last summer the conduct of the militia officers deserved all the praise that his Majesty's speech bestowed upon them; that the nation would not be in danger, when men of the greatest rank and fortune, and those whose political opinions and conduct, however different, all united in the defence of their country. But that under ministers who had not been able to carry on a war with success, against America alone, we could never hope for their succeeding against that country united with France, and probably in a short time to be united with Spain. That no person could be more zealous for the dependence of America upon this country; but now every point seemed to be yielded, if the Congress had accepted of taxation, trade, and alteration of government. That we now fought only for the patronage of America, and he was not of opinion that addition of influence to the ministers of the Crown was a fit object for us to pursue; and he seemed to doubt whether the dependence of America, with the patronage of it, or the independence of America, was most to be dreaded. But he thought a dependent connection was still to be procured; such as would render the interest of both countries mutual. This he thought was not to be done by pursuing the war in America, but by making the most vigorous exertions against France, and having America at rest. That if the mind of America had no object upon which to exert itself, it would soon become tired of the tyranny of the Congress. And if we should be successful against the French at sea, and in their dependencies, it was more than probable that the Americans would chase away Monsieur Gerard with as much hatred as they had received him with cordiality. He said he did not think the argument of his honourable friend [Governor Johnstone] was conclusive, nor so logically accurate as that gentleman's arguments in

in general. He [Governor Johnstone] seemed to think it necessary to carry on the war in America, yet he was of opinion that beating Monsieur D'Estaing would have given success to the commission. If the beating thirteen ships of the line of France, armed at all points to attack us, could be attended with that effect, why should we pursue a double war against France and America? Would it not be better to pursue the war against France with vigour by the additional force we might bring against her, the American war being suspended, and then to force France to relinquish the treaty with America? In which case America must again come into the dependence of Great Britain. That the state of our home defence did not seem to admit of sending the troops wanted to carry on an offensive war in America. That it was very true the southern part of the island was well defended; but it did not appear to him that the northern parts of England, and all Scotland, were in a respectable state of defence. That, after the capital and the dock-yards, perhaps the most necessary part to be defended was the coal-pits of Newcastle. That with respect to Scotland, in Autumn last four hundred mutineers had for some days been masters of the lives and fortunes of some thousands of his Majesty's subjects, before the commanding officer could quell the mutiny. That if, instead of soldiers whose mutiny had proceeded from misunderstanding, an equal number of the enemy had landed on the coast, they must have committed considerable damage before their ravages could have been stopped. He then said he had voted for the amendment the night before, not that he would not cheerfully agree to an address expressive of the strongest attachment and support to his Majesty, but that agreeing implicitly to the address proposed was tacitly approving of the conduct of ministers whose conduct deserves to be reprobated; and pledging ourselves to carry on an offensive war in America, which did not seem the most probable and easy method of disuniting France and America, and bringing the latter back to dependence. That the amendment did not extend to an examination of the whole period of years from the accession of his present Majesty to the present time; but meant to state as a fact, that, at the former period, this nation stood in a great and respectable situation; that at present its situation was quite the reverse, and it was meant to inquire into the cause of that difference. That it might, and in his opinion the enquiry did, lie in a very small compass, and might tend to shew how much the present ministers were to blame, and lay a foundation for their removal. That, besides utility, curiosity

had some share in making him support the amendment. That when he considered the characters of those who composed the present administration individually, he found them to be men of acknowledged ability, both in their public and private capacity. When they came to act collectively, blunder, ignorance and inability marked every step of their conduct. That he wished to be able to lay his hand upon the cause that produced so singular an effect. It had been asked, where other ministers could be found? He said he was far from paying any adulation to any particular set of men; that he found, upon his side of the House, great public ability and private virtue, men whose talents in that House did great honour to themselves; yet he would not with any certainty conclude from that, that they would make able ministers: for cruel experience had taught us, that the same man can please a public assembly by an harangue, and ruin the nation by his misconduct: but he thought the conduct of the present ministers had been so wavering, so ineffectual, and so irresolute, that it would be better to cast lots for ministers, than to retain them in office.

Mr. Bayley called upon administration to declare to the House, if they had or had not received intelligence from Jamaica, to the same purport as the information contained in private letters from his friends, which he had received by the last packet, and was to the following purport: That a large body of troops were assembled at Hispaniola, and transports ready to embark them; that they only waited for a French fleet to convoy them; that the *Minerva* and *Active*, two of his Majesty's frigates, had been taken by a French man of war and carried into Hispaniola; and that the governor of Jamaica had been obliged to proclaim martial law, and to put the island in the best posture of defence he was able; but without hopes of being able to hold out against the sudden attack of a strong fleet, and a large regular force, having only 600 regulars and the mixed militia, composed of mulattoes, negroes, &c. That both the governor and the admiral on the station had complained, in private letters, of the neglect of government in not sending reinforcements, or even condescending to let them know if they were to maintain a state of peace or war with France. This was another instance of the want of capacity in ministers, and a reason for voting for the amendment.

Mr. De Grey said, the office had no such intelligences as the honourable gentleman had mentioned; but they had letters from the governor of Jamaica, of a very contrary nature, declaring

declaring that he had put the island in such a state of defence as to enable him to resist any sudden attack till succours could arrive from England ; but they had no official accounts of any number of troops collected at Hispaniola, nor any ship of war on that station.

Mr. Fox rose, and, after complimenting the gentleman for the very candid answer he had given, just observed, that he thought the secretary of state for the colonies should have been in his place to have given it ; but he seldom honoured the House by his attendance. [Lord George Germaine came in not long after.] He then declared, that the private letters to the honourable gentleman [Mr. Bayley] had not been absolutely contradicted : therefore, he should take it for granted they were true, as they came from respectable inhabitants of the place ; and this was a fresh instance of the shameful neglect of the admiralty department, and of the folly of sending such a naval force to North America that we could not protect the islands.

He then went over the grounds of his objections to the address stated in his former speech ; and added, that it had been given out, that our situation was not so bad now as it was at the beginning of the last war. This we apprehended he construed as a reflection on his father, the late Lord Holland, who was minister at that æra ; after observing that we were in a much worse situation, for we had then only lost Minorca, now we had lost thirteen provinces. But the noble person alluded to had different motives of honour from those of the present minister ; and as he had received his education under him, this might be one reason why he always differed from his Lordship on points of honour.

The person alluded to at the beginning of the last war, thought it a point of honour to resign his office when he found he could no longer hold it for the benefit of his country ; but the noble Lord in the blue ribbon makes it his point of honour to keep in his office year after year, though his administration has been a series of misfortunes to his country ; and, in the very moment of additional calamities, he goes into the cabinet, and advises his sovereign to bestow on him a most lucrative vacant place, the wardenship of the Cinque Ports. And why ? Because, in another year, the crown might have nothing left to give, if his Lordship continued to govern. But it had been said, it is a rule of government with foreign princes to assist the weak : this indeed was a reason for the noble Lord to continue in office, that Russia and other foreign

Powers might assist this country. He then rallied government upon sending out a commissioner who could tell the Americans what sort of men the ministry were. This alone was enough to mar the success of the treaty. He concluded with repeating his assertion, that a false account had been given to the House, last year, of the state of the navy.

Lord *North* said, the charge of soliciting honours or emoluments was not true; they were the spontaneous voluntary gifts of his royal master, after ten years of services. He had not bettered his fortune since he came into office; and the duty he owed a large family made it incumbent on him, in his situation, not to refuse a moderate provision for them. But as to the last place he had obtained, it was not of such consequence as the gentleman imagined; for it was owing to his own moderation that the king had not given him all the salary annexed to it in the late possessor's time. He then requested gentlemen not to raise scruples where there could be none; neither the speech nor the address mentioned the American war; they only requested and promised general support. His Lordship concluded with professing a readiness to resign his office, whenever it should appear that his country would be benefited by his resignation.

General *Burgoyne* now rose, and begged to be indulged with saying a few words, in order to justify himself against an aspersión which had been thrown out the preceding evening, by the noble Lord [*Germaine*] at the head of the American department. The circumstance he alluded to, was not, he allowed, immediately connected with the present subject of debate; but was merely a matter of a private and personal nature, so far as it could now be properly explained. It might be of little consequence to the House, or the Public at large, in the view he proposed to take it upon, farther than as an individual was concerned; but even that circumstance would, he hoped, be sufficient to procure him a favourable and patient hearing, when, in the course of what he had to communicate, it would turn an object of public concern, by discovering the temper, disposition, and conduct of men in power.

He would have replied to the noble Lord more fully at the moment, but for the great heat of the House, the late hour of the night it happened, &c.

The circumstance he particularly alluded to, was an insinuation thrown out by the noble Lord, that he had no great

great reason to complain of the conduct of government, as he was still permitted to be absent from his duty, though he had received orders to repair to his post, his presence being necessary in America as soon as his health would admit. No answer had been returned, he understood, to this order, but a general acknowledgment of its being received.

This was what was stated by the noble Lord the preceding evening, to shew what indulgence had been shewn him. To put this transaction in a proper point of view, it would be necessary to state the circumstances which led to it. With the permission of the House, he would faithfully relate every particular that related to the subject since his arrival in England.

On his coming home from America, he immediately waited on the noble Lord; and though he was unfortunate, he little expected to be disgraced. He had every reason to suppose the contrary, from the reception the noble Lord gave him on their first interview. Eager to throw himself at his Majesty's feet, (for whatever ridicule might have been thrown on the expression, he could never perceive the impropriety of it,) he pressed, for that honour, but found, to his astonishment, that the doors of St. James's were shut against him, and that under pretences as ill founded as contradictory, in the shape they were employed.

The noble Lord assured him, that nothing particular was intended by it, but it was usual, on such occasions, arising from miscarriage, &c. not to approach the royal presence, till after a court of inquiry into the conduct of every officer, circumstanced as he was, should be previously made. Contented with this answer, as suspecting nothing more than what was expressed, he readily acquiesced; but an inquiry not being the object of those who had it in their power and wished to avoid it, while he daily expected that some step would be taken to bring things to an issue, he was informed, that, being a prisoner under the convention of Saratoga, he was not amenable to any tribunal, either military or civil, respecting his conduct in America; nor could he be introduced to his Sovereign, till every impediment was removed, till he became discharged of his engagement to the Congress, and had been acquitted, after undergoing a full inquiry into his conduct as an officer.

He confessed he thought himself extremely ill treated, nay ungenerously dealt with, particularly by the noble Lord, who, upon some questions being proposed by an hon. gentleman

man [Mr. Vyner] relative to the convention at Saratoga, and a difference of opinion arising in the course of the debate, the noble Lord had asserted, that no inquiry on his conduct could be properly held, though, but a few days before, his Lordship stated a want of such inquiry as the only reason of his not being admitted to the royal presence; so that whether such a court was or was not proper, he had every reason to believe that the noble Lord had advised the preventing him to see his Sovereign.

From the very critical and dangerous situation of public affairs, towards the conclusion of the last session of Parliament, his conscience compelled him to take an open and decisive part against the ministers, on the question of a prorogation. He perceived the dangerous situation the kingdom was in; he thought it his duty to speak out; it would, in his opinion, be criminal in him if he had not. This happened a very few days before Parliament rose; and the second day but one after the prorogation, namely, on the 5th of June, as a fresh mark of the displeasure and designed oppression of ministers, he received a letter from the secretary at war, requiring him immediately to repair to Boston. The order was in his Majesty's name; but understanding that a noble Lord, [Amherst,] whose virtues and abilities he held in the highest veneration and esteem, had lately been appointed to the post of commander in chief, he was much surpris'd that the order, instead of coming directly from the office of the secretary at war, had not come through, what he deemed the only proper channel, that of his Lordship. He accordingly waited on the noble Lord, to know how the order happened to be communicated to him in this manner, and to inquire whether it originated in cabinet; because, he imagined if it had, it must have been sent directly to him by the commander in chief.

The answer the noble Lord gave him was, that the order had been delivered to him by his Majesty, or by his directions, as coming from himself. Whether it was a cabinet measure, he could not pretend to say; but it came to his hands in the manner related; and it was his duty to transmit it to the secretary at war. But as his command was confined to Great Britain, and the order related to a command in America, the affair was entirely out of his cognizance, further than to obey the King's orders.

The purport of the letter alluded to was, "That the King, finding that his presence was material to the troops,
detained

detained prisoners in New England, under the convention of Saratoga; and that in a letter of his, addressed to Sir William Howe, dated April the 9th, 1778, informing, that he hoped a short stay at Bath would enable him to return to America; his Majesty was pleased to order, that he should return to Boston as soon as he had tried the Bath waters in the manner he had proposed."

On receipt of this, he wrote, he said, a long answer, the copy of which he read as part of his speech. The answer complained of the severity that had been exercised towards him, and of the hardship of such an order while his honour remained unvindicated. And he assured the House, that, at the time of writing that answer, his fixed purpose was, in case the above conditional order had been made positive, to lay at his Majesty's feet his commissions, requesting only to retain that of lieutenant-general, to enable him to fulfil his parole, or to make him amenable to a court-martial.

On the 27th of the same month, he received a second letter through the same channel; informing him, "that his answer of the 5th had been laid before the King, and that his Majesty continued to think his presence of importance to the troops; and repeating the former order, to return to them as soon as he could without any material injury to his health."

To this last letter, he had replied no further, than to *acknowledge* its receipt; and should it be now made peremptory, he knew how he *ought* and *would* act, be the consequences what they might.

It was somewhat extraordinary, that the noble Lord at the head of the American department should be ignorant of his answer, which contained his reasons for wishing to have an opportunity of wiping off the aspersions thrown upon his conduct and character, being informed only of the answer, in which he barely acknowledged the receipt of the letter of the 27th of June; and the more so, as, by his conversation with the noble Lord at the head of the army in this kingdom, he understood that the whole was a cabinet transaction, with which he had nothing to do, from the nature of his command, being confined to military matters within the kingdom.

He was glad that the noble Lord at the head of the American department, on his own account, was ignorant of the answer; because, if he had not, it would have been a good ground

ground on which to impeach his veracity, after having asserted, that no answer had been returned, but that of a bare acknowledgment of the receipt; and much more so, if, as a member of the cabinet, his Lordship should have consented to such a transaction, as it would have been mean, disgraceful and pitiful, and would have betrayed a shameful spirit of revenge in him, to be instrumental in removing a man out of the way, who he knew *taxed* him with *injustice*, and between whom and his Lordship there was a *long account* to be settled before the Public.—It was somewhat strange, to be sure, that the noble Lord, who was most intimately concerned in the affair, should be the *only* one of the King's servants who was unacquainted with what passed. He was ready to suppose that he was not present; but he could not help observing, that his colleagues had acted in a very extraordinary manner to him; for he understood his Lordship was the only person, in their intimacy, from whom they thought proper to keep it a secret.

The only ground stated in the order for his return to America, if it was a cabinet order, he would ask ministers, whether they had taken any one effectual step to release those brave men, who so gallantly fought, and freely bled in the service of their country, from their present irksome captivity? He had heard of none. They were suffered to undergo what was worse than death, and seemed to be totally forgot and neglected.

He had fairly, and without reserve, stated his whole conduct since his arrival in Britain, and the treatment he received. It had been insinuated, that, by continuing in England, he had *sbrunk* from his duty. Was it from the mouth of *that* noble Lord, of *all others*, that he was *first* to hear such an insinuation? What circumstance of his public conduct was it, that gave birth to such an idea? Was there one, in his private life, that did not bear the impression of misfortune, to mark the falsehood and cruelty of it? What had he not sacrificed to his duty in the American war? He spoke not of the resignation of ease and domestic comforts, these were duties the public service, when necessary, had a right to command from every professional man; but his lot had been particular, and his separations had gone to the very convulsions of his heart, [alluding to the very indifferent state of his lady's health, and her death in consequence of it during his absence.]

That

That any man who, in the state of body and mind in which he left this country in the year 1776, should continue in employment upon any possible principle but that of duty to the state, would have been a disgrace to human nature. He nevertheless did serve that campaign in Canada, returned to England replete with the same zeal, and accepted, or solicited, if any person chose to call it so, the command of as arduous a campaign, and under as positive directions, as ever were framed by a cabinet. In the course of it, he was one of the brave unhappy men who made the convention at Saratoga. He claimed no single merit in a transaction in which the whole body of officers of the army above the rank of subaltern were consulted, and, in the face of famine, despair and death, compelled the enemy to grant conditions honourable to themselves; and, if they had been complied with by the Congress, would have proved of very small detriment to the nation.

After insisting upon several miscellaneous particulars, he declared that he hoped the time was not far distant when he should have an opportunity of justifying his conduct, not upon general assertions, but positive proofs, and of convincing his Majesty, Parliament, and the Nation at large, how injuriously and cruelly he had been treated.

Lord *George Germaine* said, it was with great concern he heard the honourable gentleman, who spoke last, proceed in such a strain of personal accusation against him, and charging him with being directed by a spirit of persecution, malice, enmity, and gross misrepresentation, and that upon motives which served to aggravate the charge ten-fold, because they were supposed to arise from a principle of self-defence, and apology for his own blunders and incapacity, than which nothing could be farther from his thoughts, more repugnant to his nature, nor more immediately averse to his interests. Such a mode of conduct might prejudice a good cause, but, he would be bold to say, could never palliate or maintain a bad one.

The honourable gentleman had been led to those strong assertions and harsh conclusions, on a misunderstanding of what had fallen from him in the debate of the preceding day. To shew that the honourable gentleman totally misconceived him, it would be just necessary to recall the attention of the House to the part of his speech which unluckily happened to give so much offence; he would add, answering for his own intentions, undesignedly; and he hoped in the opinion of the House,

House, not at all admitting of the construction put upon it by the honourable gentleman.

In the course of the debate of the preceding day, several gentlemen on the other side of the House had, in the course of their animadversions on the conduct of administration, made the treatment of the officers and commanders a great ground of accusation. Among other particulars, which he should now pass over in silence, the supposed hard treatment of the honourable gentleman was much insisted upon; the order for his repairing to join the army at Boston, prisoners under the convention at Saratoga, was deemed a singular hardship; and, when combined with the various causes assigned for it, became an accusation of a very serious nature. It was said, that this order proceeded from motives of a very ungenerous nature; that it was intended for the purpose of putting it out of the honourable gentleman's power to vindicate his injured reputation; or, as an act of ministerial vengeance, for his having censured the conduct of ministers, and voted against their measures towards the conclusion of the last session.

Such being the case, as included in the number, he thought it both personally and ministerially incumbent upon him to refute both assertions; to shew, that as none of the members of administration had a wish to prevent the honourable gentleman from vindicating himself, so they were above the pitiful and unjustifiable resentments of taking offence at any opinion or vote he might give in that House as a senator.—To prove that those were the real sentiments of administration, and of every individual who composed it, he did, on the preceding evening, urge it in answer to the imputed charge alluded to, state the fact of the honourable gentleman's having received two orders to repair to his proper station in America; to which no other answer had been received from the honourable gentleman, but a bare acknowledgment that the order came to his hands. He found himself mistaken by the paper read by the honourable gentleman as part of his speech. If, ignorant of that circumstance, or forgetting to state it accurately in the heat of debate, he had given any just cause of offence, he depended on the honourable gentleman's candour to give him credit, that he was actuated by no spirit of enmity, nor design to misrepresent, but simply related what he knew or recollected.

The honourable gentleman said, that as the order did not originate from the commander in chief [Lord Amherst], it must have originated in cabinet. If it did originate there, he
professed

professed himself totally ignorant of it, and could not therefore have any hand in advising the measure; and, if full of severity or hardship, he must stand acquitted of any degree of censure: but the honourable gentleman himself, in relating the conversation he had with the noble Lord at the head of the army, in some measure shewed that it was not an order originating in cabinet; but was delivered into his hands by the King himself, and thence transmitted to the secretary at war. This proved, with the other circumstances, that his Majesty himself thought the honourable gentleman's presence necessary in America, in order to the carrying of the convention of Saratoga into effectual execution. It was thought, perhaps, likewise proper, for obvious reasons, that the commander of that ill-fated army should be the sharer of all the consequences of that unsuccessful expedition. His Lordship was proceeding to give his reasons to shew that he was totally exempt from the charge, however unjustifiable or defensible, and to demonstrate that it was his Majesty's own ideas that were pursued, when he was called to order by

Mr. Fox, who said, he would never sit silent in that House, and hear such unparliamentary language pass unnoticed. The King could do no one act proper for the discussion of that House, in his individual capacity. The Constitution knows of no such individual power, and he hoped he would never live to see the day that any such power would be recognized or acknowledged by that House. The Constitution had provided several councils for the advice of his Majesty; and he would not even in idea suppose that the King transacted any thing proper and pertinent to the objects considered and resolutions taken in those councils without advice, and the mode of administering it pointed out by the Constitution for the conduct of the executive power.

Lord George Germaine stood corrected as to the point of order, and resumed the discourse where he had been interrupted. He said, he presumed his Majesty was advised; but not being present in council, he could not pretend to speak to the particular reasons which determined the propriety and necessity of the order in question. All he could venture to say decisively on the subject was, that he had no hand in advising it; and he would beg leave, once for all, to tell that honourable gentleman his true situation as secretary of state for the American department. That upon measures of state, he had a voice in cabinet; that whatever was there finally determined upon, and which was to pass through his office, was of course

com-

communicated to him ; that if the measure was to pass through another department, he heard no more of it till carried into execution ; upon which fair representation, he was fully authorised to affirm, that, in whatever manner the order originated, he was equally exempt from any censure.

The honourable gentleman had said, that however solicitous administration might affect to be for the releasement of the unhappy men under the convention of Saratoga, nothing had been done towards their releasement. He begged leave to set him right, from a matter of fact within his own knowledge ; for, on the 12th of the same month, in a few days after the first order received by the honourable gentleman, he wrote a letter to Sir Henry Clinton, by his Majesty's directions, authorizing him to ratify that convention in all its parts ; and it being since discovered, that the Congress, under the pretext that the authority given, forming only a part of general powers delegated for other purposes, was not sufficient, a particular instrument, fully and formally authenticated, had since that been sent to the commissioners, in order to remove every possible pretence for evading the terms of the convention.

As to the narrative given by the honourable gentleman, of his conduct and treatment since his arrival in this country, he believed in point of fact it was tolerably correct, but, in point of fair construction and conclusion, it called for explanation. He looked upon it as a duty he owed to that House, and to his personal reputation, to exhibit matters in their true and impartial light ; and he would trust to the candour and discernment of the House, for a suitable judgment on the whole, combined with all its collateral circumstances.

The honourable gentleman said, and truly said, that when he arrived he was cordially received by the American secretary : he confessed it ; and he could further confirm it, on a consciousness of the sentiments existing in his own mind. It never entered into his thoughts to censure, much less condemn, the military conduct of the honourable gentleman, and never supposed that misfortune implied any species of professional guilt. That this was his opinion all along, from the time the disaster happened, till the arrival of the honourable gentleman, no better evidence need be resorted to than his repeated defences of him in that House in his absence ; and his constantly recommending to several gentlemen, who shewed a disposition to disapprove of his conduct, that nothing could be more improper and unjust than to cast any aspersions or degree

gree of censure upon any officer or other person till the means of forming a true judgment were had, and until the party censured or accused was in a situation to defend himself. So far, then, he could answer for his sentiments before the honourable gentleman's arrival. On his arrival, the honourable gentleman had given sufficient testimony how cordially and friendly he received him; but, by a most uncommon mode of interpretation, the hon. gentleman pretends to charge him with insincerity, from subsequent circumstances that happened; the first of which was, the refusal of his being admitted into the royal presence. This, he understood, was the usual mode adopted on such occasions, in cases of defeat and disaster. This, however, he would undertake to prove, no more originated with him, than the order already so often mentioned; and yet on this single circumstance, the honourable gentleman had hastily, and rather unkindly, raised the ground-work of all his personal attacks. He could with great truth re-assert, that it was no fault of his that the doors of St James's were shut against him; and he staked the propriety of his conduct, throughout this business, upon the truth of this assertion.

The honourable gentleman, by way of deduction, to shew that he was the cause of his being forbid the royal presence, says, that when he informed him the King would not see him, he added, not till an inquiry into his conduct was had; and yet, when the honourable gentleman pressed for an inquiry, it was absolutely refused. He begged to call the attention of the House particularly to this circumstance; because, if it had happened exactly as represented, it would seem to admit of that construction; but the truth was, that it was the honourable gentleman himself first shrunk from the inquiry: for, upon a subsequent conversation on the subject, when informed that nothing but a court-martial stood between him and being admitted into the royal presence, his answer was, that that could not be till the convention of Saratoga was fully ratified; because he was then a prisoner under the terms agreed to by that convention. Yet, by a strange mode of reasoning, the honourable gentleman concluded, that because the condition which was to precede his being received by his Majesty could not be complied with, and that on account of an impediment stated by himself, the condition should be instantly dispensed with.

The honourable gentleman talked of parliamentary inquiries; he allowed they were on certain occasions very proper, and

and upon others equally improper, and in none more than respecting the conduct of officers naval and military. He was always of opinion, that such matters should be left to the ordinary modes of trial established by law ; but, even supposing the present occasion would justify a departure from the common forms, how would that answer the purposes of the honourable gentleman ? Would not the same objection continue against trying, enquiring, or determining on the conduct of a person who was not amenable to the justice of the nation, so long as he remained a prisoner under a convention, authorized by the rules and usages of war ? The idea was equally absurd and ill founded ; be it turned how it might, it would be trifling with the good sense of the Nation, and an insult upon the dignity of that House, to set on foot an inquiry, which, when finished, whether to acquittal or condemnation, must vanish in unsubstantial air.

He had no more to say ; he again professed his mind was totally free from any malice, enmity, or ill-will. He did not condemn, nor was inclined to insinuate, any thing which might in the most remote degree tend to a censure of the honourable gentleman's conduct as a professional man. He was always disposed to think favourably of his abilities and zeal in the service he undertook. Success, as to the plan or execution, did not always follow as a consequence of wisdom in planning, or ability in executing. The honourable gentleman had obliquely brought the matter into discussion, whether the blame was imputable, or not, to the minister, or the general ? He had said, that his instructions were positive and direct. He should not now go into any consideration, how far they were or were not. All he thought proper now to say, was, that he wished, as sincerely and eagerly as the honourable gentleman, for an inquiry, at a proper season, and in a proper place ; and was ready to abide the issue, whether it determined that the fault was in the honourable gentleman, or in himself, or in neither.

The report was agreed to without a division.

November 28.

The Address presented to the King at St James's.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

We your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Great Britain in Parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty the thanks of this House, for your most gracious speech from the throne.

We

We acknowledge with the utmost gratitude your Majesty's paternal regard for the happiness of your people, in your earnest and uniform endeavours to preserve the public tranquillity, and the good faith and uprightness of your Majesty's conduct to all foreign powers: and we assure your Majesty, that we have seen with concern and indignation, that tranquillity disturbed by the court of France, without the least pretence of provocation, or colour of complaint; and we have, with the warmest emotions of resentment, marked the progress of their malignant designs against this country, first by a clandestine aid and supply of arms to your Majesty's revolted subjects in North America; afterwards, in violation of the faith of treaties, and contrary to the rights and common interest of every sovereign state in Europe possessed of colonies and dependencies, by entering into and avowing formal engagements with the leaders of the rebellion; and, at length, by committing open hostilities and depredations, and by actually invading part of your Majesty's dominions in America and the West Indies.

We cannot but feel concern and regret, that the measures taken by your Majesty, for disappointing these hostile and malignant designs, have not been attended with all the success which the justice of the cause, and the vigour of the exertions, seemed to promise; yet we have at the same time seen, with great satisfaction, the extensive commerce of your Majesty's subjects protected in most of its branches, and large reprisals made on the injurious aggressors, by the vigilance of your Majesty's fleets, and the active spirit of the nation.

It would have given your faithful Commons the truest happiness to have received the communication from your Majesty, that the just and humane purposes of your Majesty and your Parliament, for quieting the minds of your revolted subjects, had taken the desired effect, and had brought the troubles in North America to a happy conclusion.

Your faithful Commons do most heartily concur with your Majesty, in the just approbation you have been pleased to express of the public spirit which has so conspicuously animated all ranks of your Majesty's faithful subjects, to stand forth, at this time of danger, in the service of the militia, who, by their discipline and steady perseverance in their duty, have enabled your Majesty to avail yourself of that constitutional force for the defence of this country.

Your Majesty may rely on the hearty and zealous concurrence and assistance of your faithful Commons, in enabling your Majesty to make the most active and vigorous exertions

by sea and land, for vindicating and establishing the national honour and security; and we beg leave to declare our steadfast resolution, and renew our solemn assurances to your Majesty, that this House, convinced of the importance of the objects for which we are contending, and impelled by every motive of duty and interest that can animate the hearts of Britons, will effectually assist your Majesty in the prosecution of the present just and necessary war; and that we will, to the utmost of our power, support your Majesty against all your enemies.

The King's Answer.

Gentlemen,

I return you my thanks for this very loyal and affectionate address. I am convinced that nothing can so effectually promote the public service, as your resolution and firmness at this time: I shall ill deserve the support of my faithful Commons, and the zeal of my People for the honour of my crown, if I did not make their safety and their happiness the constant objects of my care and concern.

Adjourned to the 30th.

Nov. 30. No debate.

Mr. *Ord* was chosen chairman of the Committees of Supply and Ways and Means, in the room of Sir Charles Whitworth deceased.

December 1.

General *Burgoyne* moved, "That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, praying his Majesty that he would be graciously pleased to give orders that there be laid before that House, such letters, or extracts of letters, as had been written by General *Burgoyne* to his Majesty's secretary of state for the American department, since signing the convention at *Saratoga*, and also such letters, and extracts of letters, as have been received from his Majesty's commanders in general, respecting the same;" which was agreed to.

Hon. *T. Luttrell* then rose, in his place, and after making some reflections on the injustice and impolicy of the American war, both in its outset and progress, lamented that it had been the occasion of involving us in a dangerous contest with a powerful enemy; that we had nothing but the justice of our cause, the wisdom of our national councils, and the judicious and well-directed exertions of our native strength, to bear us out in the conflict, deprived as we were of one-third of our dominions, and destitute as we were of any ally to assist us. In former times, he observed, that our navy was our great bulwark,

bulwark, and was what had given us a decided superiority over all our opponents. That superiority, he feared, was now gone: France was already equal, if not superior, to us on our own element, and contended with us for the dominion of the ocean.

This, he said, was occasioned chiefly by the mismanagement in the naval department, and the shameful embezzlements of the money voted for that service, which latter had risen to an height sufficient to alarm the most credulous and patient, and called aloud for public inquiry.

Among a variety of proofs, he could adduce one, to which he meant to call the attention of the House on some future occasion, which was the embezzlement of upwards of 400,000*l.* in the year 1771, the first year of the present first commissioner's administration of naval affairs; so much more being voted than was applied to that service for the aforesaid year. The same imposition had been regularly repeated, to a greater or lesser extent, every succeeding year; and he had little doubt would be again so to-morrow, the day, he understood, fixed for voting the navy estimates. To put a stop to such a squandering of public money, at such a season as the present, when spirited measures and the most faithful expenditure and rigorous economy were our only dependence, he meant to submit to the House a motion, which would, if complied with, be the means of putting an end to the species of embezzlement which prevailed in the year 1771.

A murmur arising among the gentlemen of the treasury-bench, he said, that what he now threw out was not mere assertion, but was founded upon facts, which he was able and ready to produce to the House, if called upon, or permitted to do so. The truth was, that a much greater number of men were voted every year than were mustered; and yet the nation was charged to the full extent. In the mean time, he said, that the motion he was about to make could meet with no disapprobation, but from those who, from a consciousness of their criminal conduct, wished to conceal it in darkness and silence.

He then moved, "that a copy of the last weekly returns of the commanders, &c. as well on foreign stations as in the home-service, be laid before that House." He said, a much more extensive motion had been made and carried, that time twelvemonth; but he had narrowed it considerably, in order to suit it to the present state of affairs. A war with France had rendered it improper to lay before the public the strength and station of our convoys and cruisers; he had therefore con-

fined the present to the returns of the number of seamen and marines actually serving, and in British pay.

Mr. *Buller* said, he had not the least objection to the motion made by the honourable gentleman. He only rose to vindicate the conduct of the board, at which he had the honour of a seat, from the charge of embezzlement, now so confidently made, for which, he contended, there did not exist the smallest degree of foundation. But, as the army estimates were to come before the committee of supply the next day, he would not at present trouble the House on that subject, but reserve what he had to offer in refutation of the charge, now so confidently made by the honourable gentleman, for a fuller attendance.

Mr. *Luttrell's* motion was then put, and agreed to.

Mr. *T. W. Coke* moved an humble address for the production of all the papers published by his Majesty's commissioners in America, at New York, as far down as they had been received at the office of the secretary of state for the American department; which was agreed to.

Sir *George Yonge* observed, that as the powers vested in the commissioners had originated from Parliament, he thought it extremely proper that Parliament should be acquainted with what had been done in consequence of those powers. The object of the commission was the restoration of peace. If any steps had been taken to procure it, he thought that it was the duty of ministers to make as early a communication of them as possible to that House; because, till such communication was made, it was impossible for Parliament to be enabled to fully decide upon the measures proper to be pursued. It was true, that the general reports were, that the Congress had refused to treat upon any terms short of an immediate acknowledgment of their independency, and that they were secretly, as well as publicly, allied with France; but vague reports did not amount to parliamentary information, and until the proper office documents were laid upon the table for inspection, the House must continue to remain in the dark. He observed, that the papers now moved for contained but part of the necessary information; but he hoped that the whole would be taken into consideration on some future day. This would not only enable the House to judge whether peace was or was not attainable, but it would likewise include the real impediments, as well there, as the reasons which stood in the way and finally prevented its accomplishment.

December 2.

The order of the day being read for the House to resolve itself into a committee of supply on the navy estimates, Mr. Ord took the chair of the committee.

Mr. *Buller* then rose, and informed the committee, that he did not perceive the extent and probable effect of the motion made by the honourable gentleman over the way [Mr *Luttrell*] the preceding day ; otherwise he would never have consented to it. He thought it would be extremely impolitic, and even dangerous, at the commencement of a war, to inform our enemies of our effective strength. The navy, it was acknowledged, was the great bulwark of this country ; any disclosure of its state, in that House, would soon get out among the public, and of course come to the knowledge of our foreign and domestic foes, a circumstance by no means proper at such a crisis, in the manner desired by the honourable gentleman ; because it would go, not to the number of men actually borne and mustered, but to their distribution at the several ports from whence the returns were to be made. If all the honourable gentleman wanted was no more than the gross number, as employed in every species of service, he could very readily and safely inform him on that head ; for, by an abstract which he held in his hand, and which he had made that morning, he found that the number of seamen and marines upon the books amounted to 77,800 men and a fraction.

He next observed, that the honourable gentleman, in opening his motion the preceding day, had reverted to the conduct of the admiralty-board the last year, and charged them with giving false information ; first, by controverting the then state, condition and number of line-of-battle ships ready for sea, at that period : those, said the honourable gentleman, consisted of little more than half the number, and his proof is, that in six months afterwards there were not more than what was stated to be actually fit for sea the preceding November. The number stated, he said, was thirty-five, and seven more in commission, but not manned. This, he contended, was strictly true : but what does the honourable gentleman contend for, as to the subsequent number in the month of April ? That no more than thirty-five were then fit for sea.

In this he begged leave to assure the House, the honourable gentleman was equally misinformed or mistaken ; for the truth was, that the whole number consisted of forty-four ships of the line, besides seventeen in great forwardness towards the latter end of that month ; and, to put an end to any farther controversy, he would state the particular stations and services.

There were twenty under Admiral Keppel, at Spithead ; thirteen under Admiral Byron, destined for America ; one had been sent to India ; one to the Mediterranean ; one on the Newfoundland station ; one at New York ; three under Admiral Barrington ; and three in dock, undergoing some trifling repair, with their full complements on board ; in all forty-four, besides seventeen in various states of forwardness, seven of which, in a few weeks, augmented Admiral Keppel's squadron, when he proceeded to sea the second time ; so that, in fact, instead of having no more than twenty line-of-battle ships in November, we had thirty-five ; and instead of thirty-five in April or May, we had forty-four ; and in a very few weeks, that was as soon as men could be procured, we had 51, which number had since been considerably augmented.

He then proceeded to make a short reply to the charge of embezzlement, and said, that the money voted in the year alluded to by the honourable gentleman [1777] had been strictly and faithfully applied to the uses for which it was granted. He said an accusation of so heavy a nature ought to have been maturely considered, and well supported, before it was brought forward. He sat at the board at the time this embezzlement was supposed by the honourable gentleman to have taken place, and he could affirm, from his own knowledge, that it could not be supported by even the shadow of proof.

He finally moved, " that 70,000 seamen, including 17,389 marines, be employed for the service of the year 1779, and that 4l. per man per month be granted for the same.

The Hon. *Temple Luttrell* spoke first to the motion, and entered into a very ample detail of the number of seamen voted in various years for the public service, shewing the expence to the nation each year, and pointing out what he called the uniform deception of Parliament by administration, who, for the most part, he said, asked for more seamen than they ever employed, and that the money unappropriated was generally embezzled, or at least never brought to account.

After having very ably shewn to what mischievous and impolitic purposes such a mode of voting the public money might be employed to effect, he apologized to the House for rising in the committee with a seeming intention to oppose the resolution now moved ; whereas there was nothing farther from his heart. He approved of the resolution as warmly as any man in that House, and was willing to concur in a vote for eighty instead of seventy thousand seamen, if thought necessary, in order to carry on with vigour the war against France. But he nevertheless thought it a duty he owed to his constituents

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and his country at large, now that he was about to give his assent to a resolution which involved in it a grant of upwards of 3,500,000*l.* out of the public purse, to call upon ministers to give every necessary satisfaction to the nation, that the money thus bountifully and generously granted was faithfully applied. This only was the object of his motion of the preceding day, for the last weekly returns, in order that we might see how many were borne and mustered. The honourable gentleman had, at the opening of his speech, seemed to regret that he consented to the motion, for fear it might convey improper information to our enemies. This was extremely inconsistent with the honourable gentleman's own assertion, that we had now, in actual service, upwards of seventy-seven thousand seamen in actual pay; a fact, he would be bold to affirm, if true, so far from inviting an attack from France, that it would operate directly otherwise, and while it would tend to alarm them, would enable us to prove that their apprehensions were well-founded.

He observed, that the honourable gentleman had betrayed strong feelings on the charge of embezzlement, and had taken upon him to affirm, from his own knowledge, that there was not a shadow of proof, or the least foundation for such an accusation. He should not reply in a mere negative, but draw his proofs from documents which, in that House at least, it would not be decent to controvert. He then ordered the Journals of the House, of the year 1771, to be read, which being read by the clerk, it appeared therefrom, that 40,000 seamen were voted for the service of the year 1771; and in the same Journal, March 1772, that the amount of the men borne and mustered, upon an average, in the course of the year 1771, did not amount to more than 30,000 and a fraction, the highest number, for the first six months, not exceeding 38,000, and the lowest about 26,000; but that, on the whole, the average number was short of 31,000. The 4*l.* per man per month, for thirteen months, for 40,000 men, amounted to 2,080,000*l.* out of which deduct the navy-ordnance for 40,000 at four shillings per month, according to custom, and the balance paid over to the admiralty-board was exactly 1,976,000*l.* which was exactly an embezzlement of 520,000*l.* the difference of the pay of the men voted, and actually borne and mustered. These, he presumed, were facts so well authenticated, and of so notorious a nature, that they were not to be met by reasonings or arguments, but by facts of equal weight and authority, shewing to what uses, or in what manner, the surplus had been appropriated or expended; which was not now to be seen in any account whatever.

This was the specification of the charge urged generally by him the preceding day, as the grounds of his motion. He made it directly against ministers, and expected to hear it answered or refuted. If it was a fair, honest transaction, that could bear the light, he would hear the explanation with pleasure: he did not wish to criminate any man upon a loose or doubtful charge, but the present was so specific and direct, that there was no evading it, without supposing the money had been applied to some secret purpose, which could not be justified.

He said, though the navy was the most important object, nationally considered, that called for the attention of ministers, that it had been for several years, and particularly the last, the object they most neglected. He charged the noble Lord in the blue ribband with having constantly slighted it as matter almost beneath his notice, since he scarcely ever attended the House when the navy was under consideration, although it was his duty at all times to be present in his place, in order to afford gentlemen satisfaction upon such occurrences as they had a right to enquire about, and without a knowledge of which it was impossible for them to do justice to their representatives, or to do justice to the nation. He went over the old ground of the state of the navy the beginning of the year, the assertions of those who sat at the admiralty board respecting the number then fit for sea, and the number that would be soon fit for sea, and declared that, notwithstanding their perseverance now, in maintaining what they had said in Parliament last session, it was notorious to all the world, that we had not 25 sail of the line fit for sea, on home-service, tho' the admiralty pledged them for 35, and seven more in forwardness, and our fleets were so far from being equal to the fleets that France and Spain could send against us, we were not equal to the fleet of France alone, when Admiral Keppel first sailed from Spithead. He spoke also of the injudicious retarding of Admiral Byron's sailing to join Lord Howe in America, or of not detaching a part of his fleet for that purpose, and the other topics which have already been so much handled in the Upper House. He called gentlemen's attention particularly to the subject, desiring them to recollect, that it was the first conversation which had taken place in that House upon the conduct of the admiralty since the 27th of July, the business of which day loudly demanded an immediate enquiry either there or elsewhere. He begged the committee to consider, that Admiral Keppel could not sail again with the same vice-admiral, the vice-admiral of the blue; he did not attempt to blame either the vice-admiral or the commander in chief, but
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he said, the whole nation expected, eagerly expected, that the affair should be investigated; that if either officer deserved censure, it should be passed upon him; and if it appeared that the difference between the two officers arose merely from ill-grounded jealousy, that it was essential to the service that such jealousy should be removed. The two admirals were, he observed, now in their places; he hoped, therefore, they would one or both give the House some information on the subject, as well for the sake of their own honour, as for the sake of public peace and tranquillity, at a moment when it was so essentially necessary that unanimity should prevail, at least that our military commanders, both by sea and land, should have no differences.

Before he concluded, he said he was aware that every attempt to promote parliamentary inquiries, either into the nature of the expenditure of the public money, the conduct of officers, or the instructions given to them by ministers, would all be turned a deaf ear to by the noble lord in the blue ribbon and his coadjutors, and that he should be told that gentlemen who pressed such inquiries clogged the wheels of government, and prevented ministers from serving their country. He should nevertheless persevere, as well on the particular point of inquiry he had urged, relative to the 450,000*l.* and upwards, as on every other subject which he felt it his duty as a member of the British Parliament to go into; and as to clogging the wheels of government, he declared he had no such intention, it was the common excuse of bad ministers, and generally used by the worst. The ministers of James II. had used it; the ministers of Dionysius the Tyrant and of Domitian had used it, and every despotic minister of a despotic and bad-intentioned prince might use it. He solemnly protested his conduct, on the present occasion, was independent of any party idea; he spoke neither from prejudice to one set of men, nor from partiality to another; he wished his country well, and because such wishes were deeply rooted in his heart, he repeated his hopes, that the House would go into the inquiry he had mentioned, and that either the commander in chief or the vice-admiral would afford the House some satisfaction relative to the affair off Brest on the 27th of July last.

Lord North and Admiral Keppel both stood up for upwards of half a minute; but the cry for Admiral Keppel at length prevailing, he was pointed to by the chair.

He could not, he said, sit silent when he heard himself called upon so directly by the hon. gentleman who spoke last, however

however disagreeable it might be to him to say any thing in that House respecting the affair of July 27; an affair in which his character as an officer was so materially concerned. It had been said in that House, on a preceding occasion, [Thursday 26th, on the address by Governor Johnstone,] that if Admiral Keppel were to go through the business of that day again, he would *not* fight the French in the same manner; he desired the gentlemen to know, that Admiral Keppel was then speaking, and that Admiral Keppel declared, if he was to go over the business of the 27th of July again, he would have conducted himself in the same manner. He said, every thing that could be done, had been done; and he was happy to say, the British flag had not been tarnished in his hands. He felt himself perfectly easy on that head, and should never be ashamed of his conduct on the day alluded to. The oldest and most experienced officers in his Majesty's navy, in every engagement, saw something which they were before unacquainted with: and that day presented *something new*. He impeached no man of a neglect of duty, because he was satisfied that the officer alluded to [Sir Hugh Palliser] had manifested no want of what was most essential in a British seaman—courage.

He apologized to the House, said his situation was difficult and delicate; that his health nor spirits would not permit him to enter into detail, nor could it be expected from him to answer any particular questions. He seldom spoke in public, nor could he trust to his memory. In consequence of what had passed in the House on the first day of the session, he had committed to writing, what he thought necessary to say on the occasion, whenever his conduct on the 27th of July should happen to be introduced into conversation or debate in that House. With permission he should read it. He accordingly produced a written paper out of his pocket, the substance of which was: That he had been called upon at a very critical and perilous conjuncture, by his country, to stand forth in its defence; that he sacrificed every personal consideration to the public service, and accepted of the command of the fleet, without having a *single friend* in administration. Upon finding his force greatly inferior to the enemy, he did not think it prudent to risque the total destruction of the squadron under his command, on such unequal terms; and therefore, as soon as he had learnt the *real* strength of the enemy, he returned home for a reinforcement.—When reinforced, he had no reason to complain of inferiority. He was satisfied with the number and condition of his ships,

ships, with the skill and gallantry of the officers, and bravery of the seamen. So far he thought proper to explain his general situation; but he hoped it would not be expected that he should answer particular questions, relative to what passed in action, or respecting individuals; it was not his duty, nor would it be proper to do it either in regard to himself or others; but he was nevertheless ready, whenever properly called upon, to enter into the fullest explanations relative to his own conduct, either there or elsewhere.

Nothing was left untried to bring the French to a decisive action; but unless both squadrons were equally desirous of it, it was impossible to bring thirty ships against thirty ships; to effect it, both squadrons must be equally determined to conquer or perish; in which, no doubt, a perseverance in such a resolution would soon render an engagement decisive. He laid no blame any where, for it was his constant practice to endeavour at promoting the public service, whenever he commanded, as far as depended on each officer's doing his duty, more by example and encouragement, than by the rigour of discipline or severity.

He said, he had been much surprized, when an officer under his command had made an appeal to the public, in a newspaper, signed with his name, before any accusation had been made against him, and which tended to render him odious and despicable in the eyes of his countrymen. He confessed, he was so shocked, that he resolved never to set his foot aboard ship again, because he thought there was an end of all obedience and command. However, upon reflection, and when his first emotions had subsided, he hoped matters might be properly explained; but till that event took place, he informed the noble Lord who presides at the admiralty board, that he never could sail with the gentleman alluded to. He believed the vice admiral was no stranger from whence the anonymous attack came. He had himself been frequently the subject of newspaper abuse; but he had not appealed to the public, nor refused to serve his country when his services were demanded. He did not suspect ministers to be the authors or promoters of the abuse which appeared in the public prints; they on the contrary seemed his friends, caressed and smiled upon him; but if any of them were capable of cutting his throat, of vilifying and secretly aspersing him, he did not suppose they were near him; if they were, he was perfectly indifferent as to their smiles or their frowns, and regardless of every consequence which might follow from either, and was still ready to serve
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his country with the warmest zeal, and to the full extent of his abilities.

Sir *Hugh Palliser* rose as soon as Admiral Keppel sat down, and declared, he was so conscious of not having been any hindrance to a re-action with the Brest fleet on the 27th of July, that he was equally indifferent, with the hon. admiral, how soon an inquiry was set on foot; on the contrary, however it might be generally thought more adviseable to urge one, for the sake of the public, it was his interest to wish one, because he was certain it would then come out, that he had done his duty in every respect, both as an officer and a man. He said the hon. admiral who spoke last, seemed to speak with a kind of reserve, as if there was something behind; he heartily wished him to speak out, that knowing fully what was imputed to him, either on the score of neglect, inactivity, or want of judgment, he might have an opportunity of fairly answering the charge, and abiding by the judgment of the committee, whether he was or was not criminal. He had discovered, from what the admiral had just said, that the principal matter which weighed against him in the admiral's mind was the publication in the newspapers; a publication which he had signed with his name, and by which he would abide. If it was imprudent, if it was wrong, the consequence was to himself. The hon. admiral had been kind enough to do him justice on the essential point of courage; he should be nevertheless exceedingly uneasy if he was thought deficient in other respects as an officer. It was on that very account that he had appealed to the public; he heard, when he came on shore, after the affair of the 27th of July, that it had been insinuated that he was a hindrance to a re-action with the French fleet: an unauthenticated insinuation of neglect of duty, was a severer stroke to an officer than any direct terms of accusation, because it was more difficult to remove entirely; he therefore, to clear his honour, which he felt attacked, waited on the commander in chief to have the matter set to rights, and to have the insinuation wiped away: he could get no redress. To say any thing against a friend, was, to a man of sensibility, the most disagreeable thing in nature; but where an officer's reputation was at stake, the removing an unjust stigma was certainly the first object; he had therefore appealed to the public, he had stated facts to them, and by those facts he would stand or fall. With regard to the report of not obeying signals, it was a false report; but even were it true, the public service could not have been effected by it, considering the circumstances of the day.

day. Before he sat down, the vice admiral repeated his assertion, that he was neither guilty of neglect of duty nor of inactivity, and in fact, that he was by no means instrumental in preventing a re-action with the fleet of *Monf. d'Orvilliers* ; he repeated, that he held all low insinuations and affected tendernefs in the utmost contempt. If there was any real ground of accusation, why not make it fairly and openly ? If not, why insinuate that he had been wanting in point of conduct, though a testimony was given in favour of his courage. This he said was a language extremely different from that of the admiral's dispatch, containing an account of the action, in which he informed the admiralty board, of the spirited and gallant conduct of all the officers under his command. On the whole, he despised all the means resorted to, both within and without doors, to vilify and traduce him as a professional man ; but conscious of his innocence (though he did not look upon the present as a season fit for such discussion, lest the public service might suffer by it), he feared neither reports nor assertions, a parliamentary inquiry, nor a public trial.

Admiral *Keppel* seemed to disapprove much of relating the private conversation, which had now been reported to the vice admiral to have passed between them at his own house. He said, nothing of a nature merely private was a matter of public discussion.

The vice admiral had defended his appeal to the public, on the ground that his conduct had been grossly misrepresented in the public prints : he should nevertheless continue to think that such an appeal was extremely improper : it contained many matters objectionable in their nature, besides what immediately related to his own justification, sufficient to fix his former resolution never to go to sea again with the vice admiral of the blue.

As to any insinuations or indirect charges, he knew not whence they came ; for his part, he had made none ; nor did he know any part of the vice admiral's conduct deserving of censure, but his seeing the name of "*Hugh Palliser*" signed to a letter in the *Morning Post*.

The vice admiral had quoted his dispatch from aboard the *Victory*, containing a full approbation of the conduct of all the officers present that day, in which he was included. Most certainly the conclusion was fair ; and he was again ready to repeat it, and point that testimony particularly, as well as generally.

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The vice admiral had alluded to signals, and said that it was no fault of his that the fleet of France was not re-attacked. As to that, he could only say, that he presumed every inferior officer was to obey the signals of his commander; and now, when called upon to speak out, he would inform the House and the Public, that the signal for coming into the Victory's wake, was flying from three o'clock in the afternoon till eight in the evening unobeyed; at the same time he did not charge the vice admiral with actual disobedience. He doubted not, but if an enquiry should be thought necessary, that he would be able to justify himself, because he was fully persuaded of his personal bravery.

He repeated, that he was his country's friend, and was ready to do every thing in his power to promote its interest, and advance its honour; farther than that, he had nothing to do with administration, and was little solicitous about any matter but what related to a due performance of his duty. He was happy to think that the British flag had suffered no disgrace, while intrusted to his care, and he hoped never would.

Mr. *T. Luttrell* rose, and was proceeding to make animadversions on what had now passed, and moved an address to the Crown to order a trial of Sir Hugh, but was called to order by Lord Mulgrave, for deviating from the subject of debate, that matter not being properly before the committee. He then resumed the subject, relative to the embezzlement of the 420,000*l.* but that likewise being deemed foreign to the resolution before the committee, he was called to order from the chair, and sat down, after giving notice that, on the next day, he would revive his motion for an address.

Lord *North* rose to exculpate himself from the charge of not attending the House on navy days, as well as to refute the charge against the treasury and admiralty boards about the embezzlement of 450,000*l.* and upwards. With regard to the former, he declared he had sat in Parliament for upwards of twenty years, for the last ten of which he had been in office, and had constantly attended when the navy was under consideration; that perhaps the honourable gentleman might call every day a navy day on which he said something relative to the navy; if that indeed were the case, he owned it would have been almost impossible for him not to have been absent some days. If the honourable gentleman alluded to his not having been present on Monday and Tuesday, he assured the gentleman he meant to be present on both, but that he was each day employed, at the treasury, till three, and that the House was up before he could reach the lobby.

lobby. In answer to the charge of embezzlement, he declared, when he first heard of it, he did not know that it was laid at the door of the treasury board ; but that although those who embezzled the public money ought to be severely punished at all times, he was exceedingly happy to hear of the embezzlement in question, let who would be guilty, because 450,000*l.* just at present would be very useful to the public ; and as the gentleman had so unexpectedly found that such a sum was embezzled, he doubted not it would be forthcoming ; unfortunately, however, for the public, it now appeared that there was no embezzlement at all, as he would convince the committee. His Lordship then went into a copious detail of the nature of the navy estimates, and the public papers delivered at the table from the respective boards of the treasury, admiralty, and navy, (under the titles of Distribution and Appropriation Papers,) declaring that the 4*l.* a man voted for the navy, was applied to four different heads of service, *viz.* seamen's wages, victualling, wear and tear, and ordnance. That the sum voted was never equal to the expenditure, and that as the honourable gentleman had truly said there was a saving of upwards of 450,000*l.* in 1771, so that sum was applied to the diminution of the navy debt, which of course at the end of the year was 450,000*l.* less than it otherwise would have been. His Lordship added, that if he was to assert that the first Lord of the Admiralty and himself were above embezzling the money voted for the navy service, possibly the honourable gentleman would not believe him ; it would therefore, he doubted not, please him much better to hear that were they inclined to embezzle it, it was not in their power to touch a halfpenny of it. He then explained, that it never came into their hands ; that the treasury board was obliged to pay every shilling voted by Parliament for the service of the navy to the treasurer of the navy ; that the treasurer could not embezzle it, as he could make no payment without a draft on him from the commissioners of the navy, and that the treasurer's accounts were kept in the most exact manner, and settled daily under the inspection of the commissioners. Having amply discussed this matter, his Lordship took notice of Mr. Luttrell's disavowal of any intention of clogging the wheels of government, and declared he had never charged the honourable gentleman with any such design ; that he commended him for his spirit of inquiry, which had actuated him upon the present occasion ; that he was doing what he had a right to do ; and so far, says he, am
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I from entertaining the most distant thoughts of the honourable gentleman's clogging the wheels of government, that I am persuaded he no more clogs them than the fly in the fable, who settling on the chariot wheel, thought she raised the dust with which she was surrounded; whereas, poor innocent thing, she fixed where she had a right to fix, and did not in the least incommode either the action of the wheels, or the quiet of the person who rode within side.

Mr. T. Luttrell said, the noble Lord's humorous simile should not divert him from fixing the attention of the House on a business no less serious than important. He contended, that the noble Lord had not said a syllable which even tended to meet the charge of embezzlement. He had indeed asserted at random, and taken his assertion as so much proof, that the allowance of 4l. per man per month was insufficient to answer wages, wear and tear, ordnance, or victualling. The excess of expenditure, he granted, formed part of the navy debt; but what he still contended was, that no evidence had as yet reached that House, of the appropriation of the surplus, nor the necessity of it; if it had, it was in the power of ministers to instantly give the satisfaction sought. Produce an account of the whole of the navy debt incurred 1771; shew that a deduction of 450,000l. had been made out of it; that is, shew the nation that they have had credit for that sum. If parliamentary accounts mean any thing, they mean a full account; any thing but a full account means nothing; for whatever is omitted, may, it is true, be applied to the service to which it is stated; but unless the specific service or services are laid before the House, it is in fact, in the contemplation of the House, no account: besides, Parliament votes a sum not exceeding 4l. per month for as many men as are actually employed, not for an ineffective establishment.

After having, with great force of reasoning, shewn at least the defectiveness, if not the iniquity of such a mode of accounting with the public, he said, the noble Lord in the blue ribbon had endeavoured to shift the charge off his own shoulders, by affirming, that the money issued was by requisition from the treasurer of the navy; that the board, at which he presided, acted only in a ministerial manner, and had no immediate check to either examine or controul the requisition thus made. The treasurer of the navy at that time was lately dead, and his Lordship had probably in view the well known adage, that *dead men tell no tales*.

With regard to the noble Lord's apt simile, it had done him honour. His Lordship, in this line of debate, was known to
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be an original. Whenever the noble Lord found himself closely pressed in argument, or fact, it was his known practice to get rid of the question by a joke! His manner was no less curious than his matter; when he was half asleep, or seemingly quite asleep, he collected a store of wit and humour, from Æsop, Phædrus, or Joe Miller, or some other book equally distinguished for such species of drollery; and, instead of reasoning, was sure to treat the House with a laugh. As to his simile of the fly on the chariot wheel, if he and his associates lived in another country, and had their deserts, they would long since have been put upon a proper wheel; such a wheel as the system and principles of the noble Lord's government, among other blessings inseparable from despotism, tended to introduce into Great Britain; he would therefore rather be the fly in the fable, than an object of ignominy and detestation, upon the wheel of public vengeance.

He concluded with declaring his objection to every thing cruel or inhumane; he should nevertheless think he served his country essentially, by giving his vote at this time, for the introduction of such wheels into this country, if only to be applied against those state-parricides who had deluged their country in blood, and wasted its substance.

Mr. Ellis and Lord *North* rising to speak together, his Lordship desired to speak a few words before he was racked; and observing, that accounts were the most improper subjects in the world to raise a joke upon, begged leave to say a few words in explanation. That 4l. per man, per month, was thus divided—wages 22s. victualling 27s. for wear and tear in ordinary 30s. and ordnance for sea service 4s. Here his Lordship shifted this arrangement three or four times, adding and diminishing from and to the several heads, but at length determined nothing. The use he intended to make of these premises was to shew, that every one of the charges fell short of the real expenditure; the victualling in particular, and wear and tear, having greatly increased since the establishment was first made; the consequence of which was, that the excess of expenditure was either made up by the saving of the number of men actually borne and mustered from the vote, or formed what was called the navy debt*. Thus,

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* It is worthy of remark, that none of the estimates on the Journals of Parliament make the 4l. per month *insufficient* under the
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for instance, in the year alluded to [1771] the saving on the difference between the men voted, and actually borne, was applied to the general head of expenditure called the navy debt ; so that when this latter account came to be made up, it was just so much less than it would have been, if no excess had arisen on the original vote ; for early in that year the expected rupture between this country and Spain having blown over, and the difference having been amicably terminated, the seamen and marines, except such as were absolutely necessary, were gradually discharged, and the saving thus made applied to the reduction of the navy debt of that year.

Mr. *Welbore Ellis*, treasurer of the navy, entered into a very tedious, unintelligible, and unsatisfactory account of the rise, progress, and the finally established mode of voting the navy estimates. He said, from the beginning of the reign of Charles the Second, the usual mode of voting money for that service had been by a specific sum ; and the Crown having certain appropriated customs and duties for that service, unless when an extraordinary demand became necessary, Parliament had little to do with it. So it continued during the reign of James II. who being bred a seaman himself, took the management of the navy under his immediate direction, and conducted the whole with the assistance of a secretary. After the Revolution another mode prevailed, which was, voting a sum for general uses for the navy, and making up the deficiencies by Parliamentary grants the ensuing session. So matters continued till the year 1699, the latter end of King William's reign ; when, upon an estimate then formed, the present vote for 4l. per man per month was first established. The great increase in the expence of victualling, and for wear and tear, have been gradually on the increase ever since, nor has the vote ever balanced the expenditure since Queen Anne's time. In the year 1715, the deficiency was first sensibly felt ; and from that day to the present, the excess has been rather on the increase, which excess is what is generally provided for with other heads, under the title of the navy debt. The honourable gentleman will there-

heads of wear and tear, wages and victualling ; though sometimes, in the course of a very active war, there may happen an *exceeding*, but never to a large amount. The year 1771 proved a year of perfect tranquillity after the month of March, so that no charges could properly accrue above the 4l. per month, for the numbers borne in the service. The navy-wages are at this day the same as in the reign of King William.

therefore take with him this general state of the matter, as applicable to the excess voted in 1771, or any subsequent year, that it goes to the extinguishing part of the excess of expenditure. When the numbers actually borne and voted are nearly equal, the navy debt swells in proportion; when the men voted exceed the numbers borne, then the navy debt is proportionably less.

The honourable gentleman calls for parliamentary documents which do not exist; the truth is, that neither the treasury nor admiralty boards, nor the treasurer of the navy, have, properly speaking, any thing at all to do with the accounts of the various expences incurred; they are presented to the admiralty board, and by it referred to the navy board; he reports to the treasury board, who issue a warrant for the sums thus certified, so that the real expenditure is fixed by the navy-board, and every other channel through which the monies ordered to be disbursed pass, is merely in a ministerial manner.

The honourable gentleman wishes for Parliamentary documents or vouchers; the task would be endless; a waggon would not be sufficient to hold the books and papers necessary to such an investigation; and if such were to take place, it would absorb the whole time and attention of this House in the course of every session. Not one person concerned officially can have the least temptation to embezzle, were they ever so well inclined. The accounts are vouched, in the first instance, wherever the expenditure accrues; they are regularly transmitted, referred, and decided upon before they come to the treasurer of the navy. He certifies them upon this authority to the treasury board, in pursuance of which that board issues a warrant for the disbursement.

Mr. Fox contended, that, notwithstanding the boasts of administration, we had been inferior to the French at sea in every quarter of the globe. In America we had been avowedly so before the arrival of Admiral Byron; in the Mediterranean we were so still; in the Channel we certainly had been far inferior to France, when Admiral Keppel was sent out with no more than twenty sail of the line, at a time that there were twenty-seven in Brest water: in India he would be glad to hear from ministry how we stood: in the West Indies only we had been said to be superior; and yet there the island of Dominica had been taken from us. The admiral on the Leeward Island station had been confined to Carlisle Bay, to wait for orders for undertaking an expedition, with the par-

ticulars of which government had not thought proper to make him previously acquainted. It has been the constant practice, in former days, to send a powerful squadron to the Mediterranean to prevent a junction between the Toulon and Brest squadrons; but this practice had been discontinued of late, to the cost of Great Britain; for had we stationed a fleet there last spring, Mons. D'Estaing never could have passed the Straits without having first beat us. Why had such a measure been neglected? What was the use of Gibraltar and Port Mahon, if not to turn to our advantage the distance between Brest and Toulon, and so guard the pass between the Mediterranean and the Ocean, that France could not form a junction of her two fleets? These considerations weighed so with him, that he could not give up his opinion relative to the fallacy of the accounts given last year by the Lords of the Admiralty. He paid his hon. relation [Admiral Keppel], the highest compliments, for having returned home, when first sent out, as soon as he discovered that the French fleet were superior to him in point of number; and dwelt with his usual flow of oratory and warmth of imagination, in describing the fatal calamities that might have ensued, had the admiral rigidly adhered to his instructions, instead of which, he preferred the safety of his country to what might be deemed his mere line of duty.

He would nevertheless give his hearty assent to the motion, if it were even for a greater number of men, as he would omit nothing that could put his country in such a posture of defence as should secure it against any attack whatsoever.

Lord *Mulgrave* held that there were circumstances where general laws could not, and perhaps ought not to be complied with; and a line should be drawn betwixt calamity and criminality. If the exerted efforts of this country could not make it equal to the enemy, we ought then set our distresses down to the account of misfortune and calamity, and not lay them at the doors of administration. What might be expedient at one juncture, might be improper at another.—He confessed, that if we were unembarrassed with any other war, we should on the approaches of the commencement of hostilities with France, send a fleet to the Mediterranean; but that was not the case now. We are obliged to have a great armament in America, which so divides our forces, that it would be dangerous to detach any more; not to mention the jealousy that it might create in foreign courts, if we were to send a strong force to the Mediterranean. With regard

gard to our superiority at sea, he would again assert it. When Admiral Keppel went out with twenty sail of the line, the French fleet, he allowed, was stronger than ours, on paper ; but that it was so in reality he absolutely denied ; and he gave it as his opinion, that the French would not have sailed when they did, if they had not been excited to it by the frequent assertions of gentlemen in opposition, that our fleet was ruined ; and our Admiral going out with only twenty sail, confirmed them in their opinion that we were undone, and that opposition spoke truth.

In America, that we were superior, did not require a proof ; in the West Indies we were so likewise ; nor would he believe that the reports mentioned by the honourable gentleman of enterprises being to be undertaken not without the previous knowledge of the Admiral on the Leeward station, had not the least foundation in truth ; that gentleman, he was sure had no cause to complain of disrespectful treatment from administration.

He declared, that he could not follow the honourable gentleman who had spoken so much of the pyramids of Egypt, and of Rome and Sicily, not having either time or inclination to pursue him in his circuitous progress.

He concluded with saying, that he thought it highly improper to answer every question that might be put to him at this critical moment ; and that he held that man unworthy of an office in his country, who could not submit to be thought criminal for a while, rather than by an ill-timed vindication, betray the secrets of the state to its enemies : for which reason he was determined hereafter to be silent when information should be called for, which, if given, would be of advantage only to our common foe. He only begged that gentlemen would properly interpret his silence ; and not set down as a confession of guilt what would be alone the effect of prudence.

Mr. *Luttrell* replied again, and charged the noble Lord with sneering at him, from a book called *Anticipation*, which he declared he highly admired ; he said he might possibly not be so polished as a person who had sailed round the world, and touched where bears were the principal inhabitants, whose manners the circumnavigator seemed to have copied with great success. He then proceeded to make observations on what had fallen from the honourable gentleman in office [Mr. *Ellis*.] He denied, that the mode so confidently stated by him to have been established in passing the navy accounts, ever prevailed till Lord Anson was called to the head of the Admiralty ; that nobleman's virtues and great professional and of-

ficial abilities, formed the real cause of the defultory method of stating accounts too often practised in Parliament; but neither Lord Anson nor Lord Hawke had abused this ample confidence of the House. The treasury could not justify the issuing the money for 40,000 men, when they knew, or ought to have known, there was but 30,000, and the admiralty sunk the money without any licence from Parliament, or account of its actual expenditure. The Journals shew that the late treasurer [Sir G. Elliot] had not a shilling of it remaining in his hands at the end of the year. How was the essential charge met on the other side of the House? The gentleman [Mr. Ellis] deterred the House from an inquiry, by saying, that the accounts would fill many waggons, or raise a pile like one of the Egyptian pyramids, when, in fact, the true accounts would lie in a nut-shell. The noble Lord [Mulgrave] replied by a forcible laugh, commonly called an horse-laugh; but since he had seen it on the countenance of that noble Lord, he thought it improperly saddled on so generous, so graceful, and respectable an animal.

Lord *Mulgrave* declared he did not think of the popular pamphlet called *Anticipation*, when he mentioned following the honourable gentleman into Egypt and Sicily, but was induced to use the expression from the honourable gentleman's having talked of Dionysius the tyrant, and the pyramids of Egypt. He, however, commended the gentleman's good-humour, and said he would readily consent to be a bear, if it would please him, and the gentleman should, if he chose it, be the bear-leader, an office for which he seemed amply qualified; or if that did not please him, the animal which stands in an equal degree of affinity to an horse and an ass.

Mr. *T. Townshend* reprobated the jest of the noble Lord in the blue ribbon; he said such language and treatment, ministers in the hour even of triumph and of insolence might be ashamed of. God knew the present moment was far from affording cause for laughter or merriment. He complained much of the defenceless state of Jamaica, and among other matters, adverted to the dispute between Admiral Keppel and Sir Hugh Palliser, which he thought called for an immediate inquiry. Towards the conclusion of his speech he attacked administration on the score of ill-treating the officers they employed, and ended his speech with saying, that the next Whig who went out to serve his country, might take leave of his King in the same manner as Marshal Villars is recorded to have taken leave of Louis XIV. "Sire, I am now going to fight your enemies, and I leave your Majesty in the midst of mine."

Mr.

Mr. *Bailey* contended, that our West India islands had been most shamefully and criminally neglected; that Jamaica had no force equal to defend it, either by land or sea; that the French had a military force in St. Domingo and the neighbouring islands in their possession, little short of 20,000 men; that the only thing that preserved Jamaica, was an epidemic disorder which, happily for us, had broke out among the French troops; but that in the worst event he had great hopes from a neutral fortress in that island, which could be defended by a small force against a powerful army, and the great abilities of the Governor [General Dalling.]

Mr. *Buller* said a few words in reply to Mr. *Luttrell*, and the question being put on the resolution, it was agreed to without a division.

December 3.

Mr. *Buller* moved, that the motion of the honourable Mr. *Luttrell*, which passed on Tuesday last, for the last weekly returns of the numbers of men borne and mustered on board the several ships of his Majesty's navy respectively, to be laid before the House, be discharged. His reason for this motion was, that, on mature consideration, he conceived it to be very dangerous to make a discovery, at this very perilous moment, of the several states and stations of the British navy.

Mr. *Luttrell* said, it was strange that a motion which had been agreed to by the honourable gentleman himself, should be now deemed by him so ineligible. He had been particularly careful not to involve within its tendency any thing that could be dangerous. He had not desired the admiralty to specify the several stations of the ships, and he had forborne to ask for any account of the states of the ships. He had barely desired them to produce the weekly returns, that they might not have it in their power this year, as in the year 1771, to embezzle any part of the public money. He had carefully examined the navy books, from the time stated in his charge, to the present year, and he had not found the smallest trace of an application of the surplus sum, either to the discharge of extras, or the diminution of the debt. He had called upon them to produce vouchers of the expenditure of the sum, if it had been expended as they averred; but in the place of documents, he received only eulogiums on the management of the navy books, and invectives against himself. He had the fairest grounds for suspicion, that sums might be embezzled in the same manner this year, and therefore he thought it his duty to warn parliament of the danger. It had been asserted the night before, by the honourable gentleman who

moved for the discharge, and by another who had professed himself to be a private gentleman, but who had proved that he could only impose upon that House, by wrapping himself up in his profession, that there were in September last seventy-seven thousand eight hundred men borne and mustered in the British navy. If this was really a truth, he would be bold to say, that no expedient could produce happier effects than publishing this circumstance to all the world. It was the most numerous body of seamen that this country ever possessed, and he would be himself the first to rise, if the fact was proved, and move for a vote of thanks to the Lords of the admiralty for their care, assiduity, and ability; but, he was sorry to say, he did not believe it; and if Parliament sat down with it on the testimony of the assertion before them, he was sensible they would find themselves as much imposed on as they had been the year before. He did not condemn the minor commissioner of the admiralty [Mr. Buller] as having asserted a wilful falsehood; he knew that the pious Lords of that board were not so fully informed by the senior Lord as they ought to be. He begged gentlemen to consider that eighty thousand seamen would man, with their full war complements, an hundred ships of the line, an hundred frigates, and an hundred sloops of war, a number superior to all that ever were in the service of this or any other country. But he begged leave to tell the House, that from very authentic accounts he was able to inform them, that the number of seamen in September last was not more than sixty-five thousand, from which there were now to be deducted a great number killed, lost, deserted, or taken from on board the fleets of Admirals Keppel, Byron, Howe, and the cruizing frigates. But taking it at the number borne as mentioned in September last, of sixty-five thousand, it was near thirteen thousand less than what the admiralty had stated, which, if admitted by the House, would, at the end of the year, after the manner of 1772, give rise to an embezzlement of six hundred and eighty thousand pounds.

Lord *Mulgrave* said, that the weekly returns were the most improper accounts of all others, and the most defective in every point wished for. They would be altogether unintelligible to the House, but they will give the most dangerous information to the enemy. He averred that the quarterly musters, and the day lists, were the most proper vouchers of the number of men.

Mr. *Townshend* begged leave to remark how much the honour of Parliament was affected by the conduct of the Admiralty

miralty in the present question. They knew not their own minds; what they agreed to one day they contradicted the next, and they introduced into parliament the same mode of ordering and counter-ordering, which, to the misfortune of this country, they practised without. He could not avoid remarking, on the expression of the noble Lord, that the weekly returns would be unintelligible to the House, but they would give dangerous information to the enemy; it was the greatest *equivocque* he ever heard, and either meant an affront to the understanding of the House, or it meant nothing.

The House divided on Mr. Buller's motion, for it 170, against it 15.

December 4.

M. T. W. Coke moved, That the manifesto and proclamation from his Majesty's commissioners at New York, to the members of the Congress, the members of the general assemblies, and to other persons, inhabitants of the colonies in America, contained in the printed book presented to this House by Lord George Germaine, on Wednesday last, might be read. And the same being read accordingly, he moved, That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, to express to his Majesty the displeasure of this House, at a certain manifesto and proclamation, dated the 3d day of October 1778, and published in America under the hands and seals of the Earl of Carlisle, Sir Henry Clinton, knight of the Bath, and William Eden, Esquire, commissioners for restoring peace to the colonies, and countersigned by Adam Ferguson, Esquire, secretary to the commission: the said manifesto containing a declaration of the following tenor:

"If there be any persons who, divested of mistaken sentiments, and uninfluenced by selfish interests, really think that it is for the benefit of the colonies to separate themselves from Great Britain, and that, so separated, they will find a constitution more mild, more free, and better calculated for their prosperity, than that which they heretofore enjoyed, and which we are impowered and disposed to renew and improve; with such persons we will not dispute a position which seems to be sufficiently contradicted by the experience they have had: but we think it right to leave them fully aware of the change which the maintaining such a position must make in the whole nature and future conduct of this war: more especially, when to this position is added, the pretended alliance with the court of France. The policy, as well as the benevolence, of Great Britain, have thus far checked the extremes of war, when they tended to distress a people still considered

as our fellow-subjects, and to desolate a country shortly to become again a source of mutual advantage ; but when that country professes the unnatural design not only of estranging herself from us, but of mortgaging herself and her resources, to our enemies, the whole contest is changed ; and the question is, how far Great Britain may, by every means in her power, destroy, or render useless, a connection contrived for her ruin, and for the aggrandizement of France. Under such circumstances the laws of self-preservation must direct the conduct of Great Britain, and, if the British colonies are to become an accession to France, will direct her to render that accession of as little avail as possible to her enemy."

To acquaint his Majesty with the sense of this House, that the said commissioners had no authority whatsoever, under the act of parliament, in virtue of which they were appointed by his Majesty to make the said declaration, or to make any declaration to the same or to the like purport ; nor can this House be easily brought to believe, that the said commissioners derived any such authority from his Majesty's instructions :

Humbly to beseech his Majesty, that so much of the manifesto as contains the said declaration, be forthwith publicly disavowed by his Majesty, as containing matter inconsistent with the humanity and generous courage which in all times have distinguished the British nation, subversive of the maxims which have been established among christian and civilized communities, derogatory to the dignity of the crown of this realm, tending to debase the spirit, and to subvert the discipline of his Majesty's armies ; and to expose his Majesty's innocent subjects, in all parts of his dominions, to cruel and ruinous retaliations.

He expressed his indignation at finding, that a new system of war was likely to be pursued in America, by which the generous spirit of the nation would be perverted, and barbarity called forth to reign over the ruins of civilization and society. He could not think that the planners of such a system could have attended for a moment to the rules of policy and self-preservation. If a new mode of war was to be introduced, reprisals and retaliation ought naturally to be expected. Our situation at present forbade us to provoke them ; the northern coasts of England and Scotland were not covered, and Ireland was naked and defenceless. Privateers had landed men in our own country, and if they did not burn and destroy, it was not because they had not the power, but because we had not, by our conduct, set them an example of retaliating on ourselves. In the
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just dread, therefore, of attacks, which, though we might provoke, we were not able to prevent: in the just dread of a degeneracy of spirit in the nation, and in support of the rights of humanity, he could not but pronounce his detestation of the principle by which the article in the proclamation was dictated, which threatened the Americans with the horrors of a new system of hostilities, which every law, as well human as divine, equally reprobated; and to express this detestation more fully, as well as to vindicate his country, in the eyes of the world, from the character of barbarity it might gain by following the threatened system, he moved, that an humble address, &c.

Mr. *Conolly*, who, though he despaired of success from all the arguments that might be adduced in support of the motion, could not but rise to exonerate himself from the blame that will hereafter attend the measure which the motion was calculated to condemn: he wished that posterity might know that he had had no share in bringing on the calamities that this country had suffered by the American war, for which he had never given a vote; nor in those to which it would be exposed by the new system that was about to be laid down. If severity could be used towards the guilty among the rebels, it might be exercised with justice, and with his approbation; if the Congress, that assembly of men who had set every right of nations and humanity at defiance, if the Congress could be seized and punished according to their deserts, he would approve of the most rigorous punishments on such daring offenders: but they in all probability would escape, and the innocent become the only sufferers. In the consequences too of a new system of barbarity, the innocent among ourselves would be the greatest sufferers: the unfortunate kingdom of Ireland, to which he more immediately belonged, would be the most exposed to ruin and devastation: that kingdom, which had had no hand in the American war, and which was never to reap any benefit from it, that unhappy kingdom would be ravaged by the retaliation which this new system must necessarily call forth; for it was perfectly defenceless, and every where exposed to the descent of the enemy. No forts, no fleets to protect it; the capital itself, Dublin, had been open to invasion till the latter end of summer, when two Newcastle cats, of sixteen guns each, had been stationed at the entrance of the harbour. This was the posture of a country which had no defence against an enemy, and which, though it has a parliament of
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its own, finds, in its poverty alone, a security against a similar treatment which America met, when the British Parliament had attempted to tax her. That poverty, however, which secured the Irish against the attacks of the British Parliament, would in the end rob their country of its most useful hands; oppressed by their own governors, plundered by the common foes of the empire, they would infallibly emigrate to America, where they could find an asylum from poverty, wretchedness, and oppression. He seconded the motion.

Mr. *Macdonald* was amazed that gentlemen could so far torture words as to give them a meaning which had not occurred to him, when he read them, and which he dared to say had never occurred to the commissioners who had written them. He looked upon the proclamation to be a sober, sedate, sensible and well meaning address to the provinces of America; nor could he infer from it that any new scene of barbarity and desolation was to be opened by our armies: if wanton cruelty and desolation were the objects held out to the rebels in the warning that was given to them by the commissioners, and which caused such apprehensions in the minds of gentlemen, he would be among the first to condemn those who could attempt to disgrace their country, by threatening an enemy with barbarities which nothing could justify: if cruelty on the part of the enemy could justify cruelty on our side, we had instances that might have tempted men who were not dead to passion and resentment. Who thrust out the eyes of wounded prisoners? The Americans. Who burned New York? The Americans. Who burned Norfolk? A part indeed was burnt by the King's troops; but three-fourths of the town were burnt by the Americans. What were the cruelties exercised towards Col. Campbell? Thrust into a dungeon amidst the ordures of a malefactor who had been sent out to execution, that gallant officer was bolted and chained to the ground, without light, without his servant to attend him, and almost without food. This was treatment such as the annals of no civilized country could parallel. What was the behaviour of the court that had tried Col. Henley? It was plain that the sentence of that court had been determined on before the trial commenced; nor could all the eloquence of Gen. Burgoyne bring down punishment on men, who had basely murdered some of our soldiers, their prisoners, in cold blood. What would gentlemen call the murder of Lieut. Browne, and what did they think of the imprisonments of Gen. Phillips

lips in consequence of his remonstrances on that murder? Were not these barbarities of the deepest dye? Did they not call for dreadful and terrible retaliation? And yet no such retaliation had been used. Why then should gentlemen suspect that we were now going to open a scene of barbarity, when we had no new cause, and after we had been proof against the great temptations we had hitherto so generously resisted?

He understood the part of the proclamation which gave such an alarm, to be nothing more than a warning to the rebels not to expect that lenity in future, which we had shewn to them during the course of the war, when we looked upon them as our fellow subjects, and whom we wished to reclaim by the most singular mildness and indulgence. By their alliance with France, the natural enemy of our country, they had forfeited all right to clemency; they were therefore in future to be treated no longer as subjects of Great Britain, but as appendages to the French monarchy, whose interests they had preferred to ours: parental fondness should no longer sway the breasts of our rulers; war should assume a different form from that in which it had been conducted from the beginning of the rebellion; and the Americans might prepare to be treated, not indeed like beasts or savages, but like common enemies, for whom we no longer retained any trace of affection, which their unnatural alliance had absolutely effaced, but which had subsisted longer than it could have prudently been expected, after the many unprecedented provocations they had given us to take off the ties of affection at a much more early period. War now they should have in its full vigour; not such an one as they had been all along accustomed to, and which had been so tempered with peace, that it scarcely deserved the name of war. This he conceived to be the meaning of the words in the proclamation: he hoped it would have the desired effect on the rebels; he flattered himself that it was a happy omen to see the friends of America so alarmed at it; and their terrors he would deem the forerunners of that general consternation in America, which would make the deluded colonists open their eyes before it should be too late, and return to their allegiance to the mother country. And as this warning did not convey to his mind the shadow of an idea, that wanton slaughter and desolation were to mark the footsteps of our army, he could not but give his negative to the motion on the table.

Mr.

Mr. *Powis* said, when he supported the motion, he deemed himself the friend of humanity; he wished to prevent war being armed with new terrors. Bravery and humanity had ever been the inseparable attendants on a British army; they were now going to be banished from it; cruelty and barbarity were to replace them. The American war had been called the war of Parliament. Had Parliament ever authorised a war that militated against humanity? Did Parliament ever hold out as instruments of reconciliation, the tomahawk and scalping knife? Did Parliament ever tell the Americans that they were to walk over the bodies of their innocent wives and children, and the smoking ashes of their cities, to make their peace with our commissioners? Why then attempt to give the sanction of Parliament to measures which it had never dictated, which it had never approved; nay, which were a libel upon parliament? It were impossible to expect peace from such measures; ministers by their conduct had murdered peace. If, as it had been said by a right hon. member [Mr. Conolly], the Congress could be picked up, man by man, and put to the most exemplary punishment, they should all fall unpitied by him, because they really deserve every severity that could be inflicted on them; but he could not in justice, in honour, in humanity, but condemn, and if he could, prevent the adoption of a system, which must equally involve the innocent and guilty in destruction. The state of several of our coasts should, in common prudence, though humanity were to be silent, point out to us the inexpediency and danger of pursuing a new mode of making war, which must expose us in our turn to all the ravages that provoked retaliation can suggest.

Hon. Mr. *Stanley* could not bear with an even temper the affront that was going to be put upon his profession, when soldiers were to be converted into butchers, assassins, and incendiaries: he liked to war against an enemy, he liked open honest war, but could not bear to sheathe his sword in the bowels of age or innocence: he would not tarnish the lustre of the British name by acts of barbarity, nor give his sanction to the measures of the most infamous administration that ever disgraced a free country. He then paid some very high compliments to the army in America, in which he had had the honour to serve three years, and to the general who lately commanded it. As a representative of a great trading county, which lay exposed to the ravages of an enemy, where, if an enemy

enemy should land with only 500 men, the most dreadful devastation might be committed with impunity ; as representative of such a county, he would but ill discharge the trust reposed in him, and the duty he owed to his constituents, if he did not, with all his power, oppose a system which would be a plain invitation to France and America to burn our towns, destroy our manufactures, and butcher in cold blood our helpless and inoffensive women and children.

Mr. *J. J. Grenville* was against the proclamation, because he could deduce from it, that it pronounced the approaches of a new scene of hostilities, such as ought not to be exhibited by any civilized nation. Such a war might well be approved by an Onondagon, a Chicksaw, or Cherokee savage, but would imprint indelible disgrace on a people who piqued themselves on their humanity. It was not against America, but against France that we should shew our resentment ; the spoils of the French should make us some amends for the loss of three millions of subjects, for the loss of thirteen provinces, and for the loss of Dominica ; at present he had no more losses to enumerate, how long he should be so, Heaven only knew. He condemned that pitiful and disgraceful policy dictated by despair, burning what it was not in our power to retain. Our army might ravage the country within twenty miles round them, but the towns they could not injure ; Boston we could not burn, Philadelphia we cannot destroy, and New York, for our own sake we will not injure. What can an army, weakened as ours is by a detachment of 5000 men to the West-Indies, undertake ? Nothing offensive ; so that our menaces are the wretched effects of impotence, and equally expressive of our desire and inability to be revengeful.

Sir *William Howe*, after returning his thanks to Mr. Stanley for his panegyric, could not approve of measures that in any wise favoured of cruelty or barbarity ; several reflections had been thrown on his character in his absence ; and perhaps it was because he had shewn too much mildness in the prosecution of the war. He did not know to whom he ought to ascribe the attacks on his reputation ; if they had not originated from, or been encouraged by ministers, at least they had not been contradicted by them. He thought it not improper then, when he was on his legs, to say a few words about his resignation of the command in America. He declared that it had been in consequence of a total disregard to his opinions, and to his recommendations of meritorious officers. The war had not been left to his management ; and yet when he applied

plied for instructions, he frequently could not get them. The noble Lord at the head of the treasury had indeed supported, but the noble secretary for the American department had not used him well ;—had often left him without instructions, and left him to shift for himself at the opening of a campaign, without sending information how to act.

He expressed a desire to see a parliamentary inquiry take place, when, on a clear investigation of the whole business, the House, and the nation at large, might be enabled to form a just opinion ; and to pronounce which was to blame, himself or the American secretary.

He concluded with saying, that whatever orders are sent to America for the conduct of the war, he was sure they never could be executed to the satisfaction and advantage of this country, while they go through the hands of the noble Lord who holds the American department.

Lord *George Germaine* said he was surprised at so unexpected an attack upon him, when he imagined that nothing but what was relative to the motion would have been advanced : if he had foreseen the charge brought against him, he would have come prepared ; but as it was, he would defend himself as well as his memory would permit him. He declared that he had never dropped an expression prejudicial to the honourable gentleman's character out of the House ; that he had never done so in the House, every gentleman there could bear witness : he had never suffered twenty-four hours to elapse after the receipt of dispatches from the honourable gentleman, without carrying them to the King ; and that he never once omitted to second, with all his influence, every project, every recommendation sent by the general. He could only remember three instances, when his recommendations were not immediately complied with : the first was, when he had recommended as gallant an officer as any in the service, Lieut. Col. Harcourt, to the rank of Colonel ; the King had expressed himself in as warm and flattering terms of the young officer's merits as any prince could do ; but delayed his royal favour for three days, because a promotion of colonels was going forward, which was purposely brought down to Col. Harcourt, that he might be included in it ; and, as a proof of his particular esteem, the King immediately after appointed him one of his aides de camp. The second instance was that of a Major White, who was sent over with a plan for dismounting 500 dragoons, forming them into a battalion, and sending them over to America : this plan was not approved, for two reasons ; first, because, in the then state of the nation,
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all the cavalry at home was necessary for our own defence; secondly, because it might create jealousy and discontent in the army to see a battalion serving on foot, with higher pay than any other corps in the army. The third instance of a Capt. Emmerie, who produced a plan that was seemingly so romantic and imprudent, that for his part he did not imagine that the General was serious in his recommendation: this Captain was a man of property, and yet the first thing that was to be done for him, to enable him to raise one or two thousand German Chasseurs, was to give him 1000*l.* after the receipt of which he was to go over to Germany and establish his quarters in the Electorate of Hanover. One thing very curious there was in his plan, that his Chasseurs were to have among them a body of horse, which were to be stallions brought from Poland to mend the breed at New-York: this appeared so extravagant that it was imagined that Sir William had given way to the solicitation of the planner, only to get rid of his importunities. The General might perhaps have had some cause of complaint about the promotion of officers at the War Office; but for that he was excusable, as it was quite out of his department.

Without regard to the leave the General had solicited to return home, he had laid his request before the King; and had by order returned for answer, that it gave his Majesty concern that he should think of resigning his command; that he would, however, take his request into consideration. The campaign had not at that time been closed, and the King had not thought proper to appoint a successor to the General before the close of it; he then sent him leave to return home, provided Sir Henry Clinton were still in America to take the command; but that if Sir Henry should not be in America on the arrival of the leave, (for Sir Henry had likewise solicited permission to return), that the honourable General was to wait until a successor should be appointed: this was the plain truth; and from the flattering expressions of royal concern at his return, the world might judge whether or not the King had been prepossessed with any insinuation to the prejudice of the General. His Lordship then declared upon his honour, that he had ever seconded the demands, remonstrances, and plans of the honourable gentleman, and that he had gone so far as to urge a compliance with them more than once, twice, or even three times. As to the conduct of the war, if it had not been as successful as might have been wished, it was not only doing him an injustice in making him the cause of our miscarriages, but even making him of much more consequence

'han he really was, by attributing to him the sole management of the war: he was but the humble servant of the crown; if he had not the greatest abilities to recommend him, at least he had this much to say as an excuse, that he had always acted, since he had been in office, to the very best of his judgment.

If the honourable General had not immediate instructions when he called for them, it was because many things depended upon unforeseen circumstances; and as it was impossible to send letters every day beyond the Atlantic, the General must necessarily, in many respects, be left to his own discretion. He had not a wish to prevent any enquiry that might rescue the reputation of any gentleman from obloquy; and he trusted, that, if a parliamentary enquiry should ever take place, he was so prepared to meet it, that his honour and character should come off in triumph.

Returning then to the motion on the table, he appealed to Heaven to witness, that in his life he had never been more surprized than when he heard the construction that had been put upon the proclamation. He disclaimed, and reprobated as detestable, every species of war that militated against humanity, and those laws of civilization that had smoothed the rugged face of war; but he maintained, that no man could fairly deduce, from the words of the proclamation, that any thing more was intended to be done than to treat America no longer as a child, that was to be reclaimed by gentle correction, but as an enemy, that was to be forced into peace by dint of arms, and by fair, honest, open war. America, by leaguings with France, should no longer be treated as a British country, but as a part of the dominions belonging to the French crown; the Americans, by their alliance, were become French, and should in future be treated as Frenchmen. This, and this only, was to be understood from the proclamation; wanton cruelty could not be patronized by the King, or by any Briton; no British minister would dare to send orders for committing wanton barbarity to a British army; and no British army ever would, or ought, in any case, to obey them. He would not allow that the burning of a warehouse converted into a battery, or of houses or towns that were become repositories of military stores, or places of arms, could be called cruelty. Such acts had been always practised by every civilized nation in Europe; and every thing that could be attempted with a prospect of success, that could distress an enemy, and
disfable

disable him from injuring the opposite party, had been always held justifiable by the laws of war. He had not heard of an address to his Majesty, expressive of displeasure at the orders given to Sir George Rodney to bombard Havre-de-Grace, and similar orders to several other officers; no more than he had heard it reprobated to fire upon a ship, merely because some innocent person might perish through it. Even at home, did not the laws of England allow us to destroy our own country all around us, to prevent the enemy to find provision or forage? By how much a stronger reason ought we to destroy the country of our open, declared, and avowed enemy? Upon the whole, as the proclamation breathed nothing inconsistent with the general principles of war, and that nothing was intended to be done which could clash with the idea we had of war, he thought the address improper, and would therefore oppose the motion.

Lord *Howe* felt for the noble Lord being taken unprepared; it was fit, he said, that he should have timely notice of an attack upon him; and he should be glad that an enquiry should take place on himself, his brother, and the noble Lord, that all three might have a fair opportunity of vindicating their characters.

General *Burgoyne* said, he intended to vote for the address, but wished to screen himself from the imputation of inconsistency; he was an enemy to every species of cruelty, to any thing unbecoming a soldier. If he had published any thing, when at the head of his army, that had inspired gentlemen with an idea that he intended to urge a cruel war, his meaning had not been properly understood; for his proclamation was calculated only to assure the inhabitants, that desolation should be kept far from them, and their property he secured to them. He would say this much, however, that tomahawks and scalping knives had been restrained by him, and every end, every encouragement in pecuniary and other ways given the Indians for bringing in prisoners unhurt; that his inflexibility in that respect, his resolution even in punishing when he could, and not any other cause, as had been set forth in a long French letter addressed to him in a news-paper, by Mr. St. Luc de la Corne, had caused the desertion of the Indians. He justified, by precedent in the last war, and by the opinion of General Count de la Lippe, the burning of houses, towns or villages, lest they should be filled by enemies, who might thence annoy us. He wished ardently for an enquiry, and hoped the House would agree to the motion.

Sir *Grey Cooper* said, he could not sufficiently express his astonishment that gentlemen should torture words, and give them a construction that could not be warranted by the tenor of the proclamation: he recapitulated the whole of it, and inferred, from its tendency, that nothing cruel could have been intended by the part particularly alluded to; the Americans were no longer to be treated as Americans—but as Frenchmen: that was all that was to be meant. He then read quotations from *Puffendorff* and *Grotius*, to prove that burning of towns that were nurseries of soldiers, or arsenals, or magazines of military stores, were perfectly consistent with the principles of civilized war.

Mr. *Burke* instanced the letter of the *Marshal de Belleisle* to *M. de Conrades*, in the last war, which was intercepted by the English. It was held in so disgracing a light, that it was published in the *London Gazette*, to prove to all the world, that the French, driven to extremities, were forced to renew the barbarities of war, and to desolate the country that they could not subdue; and so strongly did this publication work on the French court, that in a proclamation they disavowed all knowledge of it: in so infamous a light did the barbarities of war appear to all Europe. He thought the most exceptionable words were, “that they had hitherto refrained from the extremes of war and the desolation of the country.” It is necessary, in order to decide on this point, to look back to the conduct of the war: had not almost every advantage been taken that the right of war among civilized nations could authorise? Thus, if the war was to be changed—if the mode we had already practised—if the lenity, the humanity, the toleration which had been hitherto observed, was to be forgone, and we had forbore nothing that the rights of war could authorise, then the plan now to be prosecuted was different from lenity and toleration, and was different from the laws of war. The laws of war were the laws of limitation, for war was constantly to be limited by necessity, and its calamities and ravages bound in by that plea alone. But the extremes of war, and the desolation of a country, went beyond all limitations; and as no necessity could warrant them, no argument could excuse them. To prove, by an example, the difference between the limitations of war, and the extremes of war, he stated, that it would be right and pardonable, because it would be necessary to burn any fort, garrison, or town, that would give strength to the enemy, and enable them to annoy you; it would be proper to burn any
house

house from which the enemy fired upon you ; but it would not be lawful, right, or pardonable, to burn any town, or house, that might, in process of time, give strength to the enemy, but which could not now shelter them. The extremes of war, and the desolation of a country, were sweet sounding mutes and liquids, but their meaning was terrible ; they meant the killing of man, woman and child, burning their houses, and ravaging their lands, annihilating humanity from the face of the earth, or rendering it so wretched that death would be preferable. And against whom was this dreadful menace pronounced ? Not against the virulent and the guilty, but against those who, conscious of rectitude, acted to the best of their ability in a good cause, and stood up to fight for freedom and their country. Lewis XIV. of France, he said, ravaged and laid waste the Palatinate ; and the great Duke of Marlborough, in retaliation, ravaged Bavaria : it was held pardonable and fair to revenge the barbarity on the ally, rather than on the criminal herself, because there she was most vulnerable. Will not our enemies do the same ? And will not every power be intimidated from allying with a nation who hath thrown away every shadow of principle, and renewed the savage horrors of ignorant and uncivilized war ?

Lord *North* denied, in the most direct terms, that ministers had any intention of giving the least encouragement to the introduction of any new species of war in America, other than what was practised in Europe. He was much obliged to the honourable gentleman [Sir William Howe] for his favourable opinion of him ; but begged leave to differ from him, in supposing that it was the fault of ministers that he was not better supported. He was certain they had done every thing in their power to co-operate with him ; and if the business had failed through any neglect, which he was inclined to believe it had not, he was fully convinced that ministers would be found to have done all that could be reasonably expected from them.

The *Attorney General* [Mr. Wedderburne] took the opposite ground, and said, that the proclamation was as sober, conscientious, and as humane a piece of good-writing as ever he saw : he explained away the intention of the extremes of war, and asserted, that nothing could be done but what was necessary to self-preservation, which he avowed was a sufficient plea for all the horrors of war.

Mr. *Rous* declared, that the proclamation was penned by no other than a Scotch lawyer. It was the Scotch lawyers who approved of the massacre of Glenco, and they had justified it upon the principle of necessity. Scotch lawyers had of late come into this country, with all those principles of blood and massacre about them: they had pervaded the whole system of government, and their influence prevailed and guided in every department.

Governor *Johnstone* approved of the proclamation throughout, and condemned the American Congress in the strongest terms. He thought no mercy, no quarter, ought to be shewn to them; and if the infernals could be let loose against them, he should approve of the measure. He said, the proclamation certainly did mean a war of desolation; it meant nothing else; it could mean nothing else; and if he had been on the spot when it was issued, he would have signed it. He declared he was of no party. As to the Commissioners, he said, they had it not in their power to accept of either of the alternatives proposed by the Congress. They could not allow the independence of America, and they had not power to withdraw the army. They could indeed order a cessation of arms; but the Congress were not satisfied with that.

Sir *George Yonge* said, that he was surprised to see the whole line of debate changed, (the argument having been that the manifesto of the commissioners did or did not imply the most bloody desolation of America, which was totally disowned by the ministry), since the gentleman who spoke last [Governor *Johnstone*] had contended that it did mean it, and should and ought to mean it, and even wished he had signed the paper.

That such a declaration was astonishing, and the purpose for which it seemed to be advanced was detestable; that it was scarce to be accounted for; yet as there was nothing so deceitful as the human heart, which professed, very often, the public good, at the same time that it in reality gratified the meanest and most selfish views, so it was possible, though it was not meant to be positively asserted, such might be the case now. It was well known the governor had disagreed with the Congress; how it happened, was needless to enquire: but if any man capable of harbouring such a thought, should conceive the idea of urging on this country to a thirst of blood against America, though to the disgrace and ruin of this country, thereby gratifying his own

own pique and resentment, under colour of the public service, no arguments could be better suited to such a purpose than those of the governor. That this seemed strange from a commissioner sent out to make peace; that it must be a matter of concern to every one, to know why that peace, which every one had wished for last year, had slipped through our hands. That the Congress had agreed to treat on two conditions, one of which was left to our own choice, and one of which left the independence of America out, as a preliminary, if the force was withdrawn: that it was to be hoped, when the commissioners returned, all the proceedings would be laid before us.

That the manifesto breathed nothing but the indiscriminate exercise of the extremes of war; that those were sometimes practised, but always fatally to those who used them. That he had seen the Palatinate in the year 1763; that even then, marks were visible of the desolation made by the French in the preceding century. That they had then defended it on the ground of the rights of war, of covering their frontiers, and of self-preservation; yet mankind revolted against the cruelty, and it was notorious that the blood which was then spilt, cemented the union of that combination and alliance, which in about ten years after shook the French monarchy to its foundations. That the case would be the same now: that, besides this, retaliation would follow; though, that out of the question, it was a disgrace to humanity, and to Great Britain, wantonly to shed blood even with impunity. That he had for some time thought we were a people devoted to destruction: that it now grew more certain, and we seemed resolved to deserve it: that the first capital symptom was, a total want of wisdom in our rulers; the last and finishing one was, a total want of humanity in the people. That we were now arrived (as to both these) to the utmost pitch we could reach; and it was scarcely a prophecy to foretel that we could not, and should not, and indeed we did not deserve to escape the consequences.

The House divided. For the motion 122; against it 209.

The following is a list of the Minority on this question.

James Adair	William Baker
William Adam	Right Hon. Isaac Barré
Sir Edward Aftley	Charles Barrow
John Aubrey	Nathaniel Bayly,

Lord Ed. C. Bentinck
 Edward Benyon
 Hon. W. H. Bouverie
 Charles Brett
 Frederick Bull
 Sir Charles Bunbury
 General Burgoyne
 Edmund Burke
 Lord George Cavendish
 Lord Frederick Cavendish
 Lord John Cavendish
 Lord Richard Cavendish
 Lord G. H. A. Cavendish
 Jervoise Clarke
 Sir Robert Clayton
 Sir P. J. Clerke
 Right Hon. Tho. Conolly
 Right Hon. Gen. Conway
 John Cooper
 Laurence Cox
 Richard Hippisley Cox
 John Crewe
 Richard Croftes
 Sir Charles Davers
 Henry Dawkins
 John Dunning
 Paul Fielde
 Hon. Rich. Fitzpatrick
 Henry Fletcher
 Hon. C. J. Fox
 T. Edwards Freeman
 Edward Gibbon
 Lord George Gordon
 Charles Goring
 Marquis of Granby
 James Grenville
 Hon. Booth Grey
 Sir William Guise
 Rt. Hon. W. G. Hamilton
 Sir Harbord Harbord
 David Hartley
 H. W. Hartley
 Filmer Honeywood
 Richard Hopkins
 Hon. Sir William Howe

George Hunt
 William Hussey
 Hon. General Keppel
 Earl Ludlow
 Viscount Lumley
 Hon. Temple Luttrell
 Hon. James Luttrell
 William Lygon
 Hon. Charles Marham
 James Martin
 Joshua Mauger
 Sir Joseph Mawbey
 Rt. Hon. Sir W. Meredith
 Sir Thomas Miller
 Richard Milles
 Humphry Minchin
 Crisp Molyneux
 Frederick Montagu
 Edward Morant
 Hans W. Mortimer
 W. Nedham
 Geo. Lewis Newnham
 Richard Oliver
 Wm. Mostyn Owen
 Robert Palke
 John Parker
 William Plumer
 Nathaniel Polhill
 Alex. Popham
 Thomas Powys
 Sir George Robinson
 Thomas Bates Rous
 George Rous
 Samuel Salt
 Sir George Savile
 John Sawbridge
 Robert Scott
 John Scudamore
 Sir Thomas G. Skipwith
 Abel Smith
 Frederick Standert
 W. S. Stanhope
 Hon. Tho. Stanley
 Humphrey Sturt
 George Sutton

Thomas

Thomas Thoroton	Sir William Wake
Hon. Wilbraham Tollemache	Hon. T. Walpole
Right Hon. T. Townshend	Hon. R. Walpole
John Trévannion	Hon. R. B. Walsingham
Clement Tudway	John Rolle Walter
Geo. Foster Tufnel	Thomas Whitmore
Earl of Tyrconnel	Jacob Wilkinson
Sir G. W. Van Neck	Watkin Williams
Earl Verney	Edward Winnington
Hon. G. V. Vernon	Sir Cecil Wray
Earl of Upper Ossory	Sir George Yonge
Thomas Wenman Coke	} Tellers.
George Byng	

December 5.

No debate. Adjourned to the 7th.

December 7, 8 and 9.

No debates.

December 10.

Colonel *Barré* moved that the last returns from the army in Great Britain, the militia included, should be laid before the House.

Mr. *Jenkinson* said, the honourable gentleman surely did not wish that the exact state of our national defence should be made known to the enemy, which must infallibly be the case if the papers demanded were granted. The House, no later than the last week, had so clearly perceived the impolicy of admitting our enemies to a circumstantial knowledge of the state of our force at sea, that it had rescinded its own orders for naval papers: the same reason, no doubt, would prevail with regard to our land force.

Colonel *Barré* said, it was truly curious, that the honourable gentleman who had so lately succeeded to the office of a noble Lord, or who perhaps was only elect to the office, should already appear so great a proficient in the rules of that office, as to deny every matter of useful information that should be called for from his side of the House. It was still more curious, that a motion of so simple a nature, that could not convey any information to the enemy which they are not already in the full possession of, but which would tend to remove that ignorance from the House which he thought to be its greatest disgrace, should at this dangerous crisis be refused.

He intended, he said, to follow this with some other motions; one, to have an account of the troops serving in Ireland,

land, for the same purpose as the former ; a third, to have an account of the troops serving in the West-Indies. The necessity of this motion, he was sensible, would be apparent to the House, when they expected that, in the instance of Dominica, the House, as well as the Nation at large, had been altogether ignorant that there were but forty-one men in the garrison to manage one hundred and sixty pieces of cannon and twenty mortars ; and that the governor had even written home for more troops, to prevent the stores in the garrison from being plundered and stolen. Seventy thousand pounds had been expended on the fortifications of the harbour, where nature had combined with art for its defence, and having placed it in the midst of the French islands, rendered it our vicegerent to receive suit and service from them all as vassals. He also intended to move for the proper papers, to inform the House of the periods when the regiments levied in England and Scotland by voluntary subscription or gift last year, were severally completed. This, he said, he did, because he conceived there were very great partialities observed towards the noblemen and gentlemen of the northern part of this country, in the raising of these regiments ; and he wished to be informed whether the measure had been effectual towards the end that was proposed. He was very well informed, that great partialities had been shewn. He knew not why that particular corner of the King's dominions had been preserved and deemed the most eligible for the purpose of levying regiments. But if there was any good reason for preferring that part of the country, and which had induced government to treat with a degree of contempt, offers of the same nature from persons of the first consequence, rank and fortune in this part of the kingdom ; yet he wished to know why it was permitted to those northern noblemen and gentlemen to come into the streets of London and Dublin, expressly against the spirit of their proposals, and pull off the breeches of Englishmen and Irishmen to fill up their Highland regiments.

Hon. Mr. *Stanley* said, the inhabitants of Liverpool and Manchester had once put a confidence in administration which they did not deserve ; but they, as well as others, had at length their eyes opened. They were no longer deceived. He instanced the partiality shewn to the northern corps, in preference to the new levies raised in England. Three pounds levy money were given for each man enlisted for the former, and not a shilling for the latter ; and a most particular neglect and inattention was paid to the recommendation of
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the people of Liverpool, in respect of the only one favour of consequence they requested; and the refusal was the more extraordinary, as they made no one stipulation relative to patronage, but generously made the offer, without any previous condition whatever. The refusal was, to make a most active and indefatigable officer Lieutenant Colonel. This, he said, was a most ungrateful and ungracious requital for stepping forward in the moment of danger and difficulty; but he was well satisfied, that experience had sufficiently instructed them in future to put no confidence whatever in the present ministers, whether it respected their public interests or private feelings. As an additional proof of the partiality shewn to the northern corps, he informed the House, that though the Manchester and Liverpool regiments stood highest on the list, after the old corps, that is, were entitled to precedence, having made the first offers, which offers were accepted; nevertheless, when they came to rank, the first was put forward, and, instead of standing at No. 73, to which they were entitled, their rank was fixed at 79, and the precedence given to the northern corps before them.

Mr. *T. Townshend* enforced Col. Barré's argument concerning the danger of stripping the kingdom of the old corps; and urged particularly the very alarming communication made by a late Ambassador at the court of France, in the other House [Lord Stormont] on Monday evening, relative to the shameful conduct of ministers, in concealing from Parliament any knowledge of the treaty entered into between France and the Congress delegates.

He reminded the House, that the whole treasury bench, when interrogated whether they knew any thing of the treaty, answered, with one voice, they did not. The propriety of his right honourable friend's motion came with additional weight, when it was plain the conquest of America was clearly impracticable; and that since France and America were leagued for our destruction, it was our business now to keep such a force at home as would be sufficient both to defend us and keep France in awe, and employ the remainder of our army in protecting such of our distant possessions as we still retained in a state of defence.

Lord *North* disclaimed all partiality; Manchester and Liverpool had offered to raise corps without expence to government; and the gentlemen in the north had demanded 3l. a man levy money; the offers of both had been complied with: here he could see no partiality; on both sides the public had made a good bargain. With regard to neglect of recom-

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mendations from Liverpool, they had never been disregarded, when they could have been attended to without breaking through established rules. The corporation of Liverpool deserved the greater attention, and he entertained the highest respect for the gentlemen who compose it; they had left the appointing of the field officers of their regiment to his Majesty; but at the same time recommended a very young officer to the rank of Major: the gentleman's merit was certainly great, but his youth might have been deemed a bar to such promotion; for he had been in some measure hurried through the degrees, till he had been made a Captain: he was however made Major; and in a short time afterwards the post of Lieutenant Colonel in the Liverpool regiment becoming vacant, it was demanded for him; but as it had been deemed improper to advance him so soon after he had been so short a time a Major, a Lieut. Col. was taken from the half-pay, and appointed to the command. That post is become again vacant by the Lieutenant Colonel being appointed to the same rank in another regiment; and for his part, whatever the deserts of the present Major may be, he should be far from approving of his succeeding to that post, to the prejudice of so many veteran officers of a much longer standing, and of tried service, who would in that event be passed over. As to the rank or number of the regiment, the priority of number he presumed is always granted, not to the corps that is first begun to be raised, but to that which is first completed; and as some of the Scotch corps had been completed before that of Liverpool, the latter was obliged to rank after them.

With regard to the motion on the table, he insisted, that there were circumstances that might so essentially alter the nature of a measure, as to render it dangerous at one time, tho' it might be perfectly harmless at another. In such circumstances we were at present; and, though a similar motion had passed the House last year, he never could consent that a similar motion should be granted for several years successively, lest in the end it should be deemed a matter of course, from which we could not, with propriety, depart.

As to the returns on the impress act, he believed the granting or withholding them was a matter of very little consequence. It answered some good ends in respect of the police, by taking off great numbers of vagabonds and other idle and disorderly persons; but as to filling up the regiments with recruits, it had almost entirely failed; for he understood that by far the greater part who were thus compelled to serve, had

had deserted; so that although the nation had been put to a very considerable expence, little or no advantage was derived from it, except in the respect of the police.

Col. *Barré* again called upon the attention and the justice of the House to his motion. As for his part, he would do his duty to his King, his Country, and his Constituents. It was indispensibly necessary that the House should cease to act at the nod of ministry. He would have every member to feel for himself. It was time to act like honest men. As to the French, they knew us already much better than any papers on the table would inform them. What he wanted was, that the representatives of the people might know into what a plight we had fallen, for that above two hundred members in the House, he was sorry to say it, were totally ignorant of what all France knew. With regard to the military, great partiality had been shewn in the calling out the same, especially in raising the new corps and levies. An officer of very high description, great in military talents, great in every virtue, and great in the confidence of the nation, [the Duke of Richmond,] had made application to raise a corps; but that so far from accepting it, no kind of answer had been given. The hon. gentleman, however, over the way, [Col. Murray,] had found grace with administration. He had applied to raise a regiment, and the application had been acceded to. He had nothing to say against the Colonel. He was a brave, honest, deserving officer, covered with wounds in the service of his country.—But he could not but think the noble Duke as much entitled to the receipt of such a favour. The Colonel then remarked how much the levying the new corps and levies had been given to our northern friends, not forgetting to mention, in pretty severe terms, the shameful partialities which had too much prevailed in the general conduct of raising the new corps: that the public might be fully informed how the whole of that business was managed, was his reason for one of his intended motions, that is, for the last returns to be laid on the table, for the perusal of the members.

Mr. *Burke*. Last year, when we were actually and confessedly weak, says the noble Lord, it was proper to inform our enemies of our national imbecility; because though France was not at war with us, she was secretly making preparations, and intending to invade us: now that we have a very numerous veteran force within the kingdom, with a well disciplined, brave, and well-appointed militia, amounting to upwards of 30,000 men, and that we are of course actually and confessedly every way strong and well prepared,

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the noble Lord tells you, it would be imprudent to apprize your enemies of your strength. This, he confessed, was a species of argument, which he employed with equal success in the next sentence. To those, says his Lordship, who asked money, we gave money; to those who made us no such demand, we gave none; so that the offers and the acceptance were the same throughout; we gave to each what they asked, and no more. In the same rigid adherence to office forms, and to the rigid rule of right, what does the noble Lord next tell you? That the towns of Manchester and Liverpool made no previous terms or conditions respecting the appointment of the field officers of their respective regiments; the noblemen and gentlemen of the northern part of the kingdom were not entirely so neglectful of what they owed to themselves and their friends. What is his Lordship's conclusion? That those who had stipulated for the appointment of the field officers, had the terms granted and punctiliously ratified on the part of administration; but that those who, trusting to the honour and gratitude of government, had in two instances already, and would in a third, if the noble Lord proved as good as his word, of which he made no doubt, have their requests uniformly denied, as absurd, unreasonable, and contrary to the rules of established service. One word more, and I shall have done with his Lordship and his logic for the present. The noble Lord tells you, that, in point of recruiting, the land-press act was not answered; but then, as he never fails to blend every misfortune by certain portions of consolation which he never fails to carry about him as so much ready money, his Lordship says, it has answered, by its salutary effects and influence, in regard to the police. His proof of this is curious and ingenious; and, I believe, of his own discovery. The rogues, sturdy beggars, idle and disorderly persons, pressed, have almost to a man deserted and returned to their former vicious, villainous, and thievish habits of life, improved by the morality and good example of camps and recruiting parties, and prisons and dungeons; and this is the salutary and happy effects the pressing act has had upon our police.

Colonel Murray [one of the colonels of the new levies] said, as far as he could learn, there was no partiality: there was, he believed, in the Highland regiment, about thirty Irish and fifteen English, but that merely arose from a circumstance of an officer raised to an higher rank, who was led by his connections to recruit in that country. He said, as to the levy-money, it was far from being sufficient; he

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was certain, every man procured, cost considerably more than the bounty granted by Parliament; and as to the corps being incomplete, he could say, for his own, it at present contained 1010, which was but 74 short of its full complement.

Mr. *H. W. Hartley* expressed his unwillingness to trouble the House; but as the right hon. mover had asked a question which had not been answered, concerning the disposition of the troops, and particularly whether more were still to be sent to America, he hoped for the indulgence of the House for a few moments. He then stated, that though the conduct of France made the utmost exertions of Great Britain necessary against her, and against those who might be joined with her, yet he should ever consider in a different light an American and a Frenchman, and, as much as lay in his power, separate the two parties. He lamented that the measures of ministry had made this a very difficult task; but still he would lose no opportunity of distinguishing between them as much as possible; and as he had always thought the American war was founded in injustice, and prosecuted in folly, so he could not condemn the resistance of America; but as he would be ever ready to lay down his life and fortune to support the honour of his Sovereign, and the interests of his country, against their natural enemies, so he would be ever the foremost to seek a reconciliation with America. He therefore desired to know if more regular troops were to be sent out to that country, which he feared would only tend to exasperate the minds of the Americans, and prevent their being open to any reconciliation. At the same time it would deprive us of that defence which might be wanted at home; and there, as a militia officer, he begged leave to observe, from having been in one of the camps with several regular regiments, that the militia corps had received great advantage from seeing the discipline of the regular troops, and endeavouring to imitate them. That he did not doubt, if any occasion should call for the service of the militia, that they would acquit themselves like men, and do credit to the approbation that had been bestowed upon them by his Majesty; but that he hoped ministers would not send those regular troops out of this country, who, by their example in discipline, in case of an attack upon this country, might yet make the militia perfect in theirs, and, if employed upon service, might be their companions in the field, upon whom they would

would depend, and create that emulation which must be of the greatest service and glory to this country.

Sir *Philip Jennings Clarke* declared himself partly of the same opinion; and affirmed, that it would be madness in the extreme to strip the kingdom of its old corps, for the purpose of Don Quixote schemes of conquest on the other side of the Atlantic, and thereby commit the safety and protection of the kingdom either to the militia or the new corps. The recruits, or militia, or new raised troops, could only answer for effective and steady operations in the face of an enemy when they were considerably superior in number, or when they were mixed in certain proportions, or engaged in the same actual service with veterans.

Mr. *Fox*, in allusion to what had fallen from Mr. Stanley, said, that the nation to a man would at length, as well as their steady and zealous friends, the inhabitants of Manchester and Liverpool, have their eyes opened, and be convinced, he feared, when it would be too late, of the incapacity, absurdity, and obstinacy of an unprincipled administration. He did not doubt but the nation in a body would discover, not the personal perfidy of this or that member, but the destructive and unconstitutional system of government they had been employed as the wicked and willing instruments of carrying into execution.

He then remarked upon the proposed impartiality of the noble Lord in the blue ribbon, and the directive spirit which inspired his political conduct as first minister. Every kind of proposition, and every proposer, came equally well recommended to him; he was ready to meet every man on his own ground; he that came for money should have it, he that desired none should be bound to his bargain.

The noble Lord said, no partiality had been shewn. He could tell one instance at least, which directly contradicted that assertion. A noble relation of his [Duke of Richmond] had offered to raise a regiment without a shilling expence to government; but his offer was refused. Not that either: it was treated with a silent contempt, for a syllable of answer was never returned, not so much as to acknowledge the receipt of the letter. No, in the language of a certain morning paper, the Gallic Duke, the Anglo-Gallic Duke, was not a fit person to be trusted; he was not fit to be trusted in the way of his profession, and in defence of his own property and native country. The noble Duke was too much in the interest of France, though common sense, or common probability,

probability, must give the lie direct to every such insinuation, independent of the well known patriotic sentiments of his noble relation, when it was considered, what a great and valuable property he possessed in this kingdom, and what a trifling property he held in France. But these were mere pretences, to cover the fixed rancour and enmity whence proceeded this systematic abuse. That nobleman's chief crime was, that he was a whig; that bred, and continuing steadfast in principles of whiggism, those, to whom these principles by nature and education were obnoxious, found in him a most formidable and able resister of their schemes of despotism; and that he remained firm and unshaken in his resolution to oppose the diabolical attempts of the instruments employed to render the constitution of this country no better than an empty name.

Col. *Barré*, with a remarkable degree of warmth and ardour, said, whether we are to meet with another session, or whether we are to sit the present out, I know not—but this I know, that the times are serious—are critical—are dangerous. Upon my word, they are serious. I wish to do my duty. I mean to do my duty. I'll say no more. I am unequal to the talk. There may however be struggles; and the vengeance of the nation may yet be wreaked on those Ministers, who have brought it to the lowest ebb of misery and distress—who have dismembered it of thirteen colonies, and who may, ere long, add to these calamities what I tremble to think on.—I have done.

Lord *Beauchamp* contended, that, if the last returns from the militia should be laid before the House, no just idea could be formed from it of the true state of our home-defence; for, by the nature of that service, such members were entitled to their discharge at the end of three years service, that the corps must be considerably reduced. He instanced the Derby and Yorkshire regiments, which at present, he believed, were unfit for service, from the great number who had been discharged. This was a great defect, which he wished to see remedied in our militia laws; he wished that a provision might be made in a future bill, by which the militia men should, in case of threatened danger to the State, forfeit for a while their right to their discharge. The motion appeared to him of a dangerous tendency; he would consequently oppose it.

Mr. *Dempster* lamented that no arguments could have procured a militia for Scotland, and that sensible men, who

were to be raised, and volunteers, whose number could not consequently be soon completed, should have been preferred to a militia, which, as it would be raised by force of law, must be completed in a much shorter time. He contended, that 32,000 men were not sufficient for the defence of this country; and that the original plan of 62,000 would have rendered it so secure that we might have bid defiance to every attack of our enemies.

Mr. *Fox* moved, as an amendment, that the words *militia* included should be left out of the motion.

Mr. *Rigby* said, that it was a very extraordinary language used by the right hon. gentleman, to say, that all our officers were dissatisfied, or, that the loss of Dominica would be laid at the door of Admiral Barrington; on the contrary, he was convinced that Admiral Barrington was as gallant and able an officer as any in the service.

Colonel *Barré* rose once more, and said, no man on earth was farther from insinuating any thing to the disadvantage of Admiral Barrington. He was equally persuaded of his great professional merits, and his many virtues and amiable qualities in private life. The Colonel was here called to order from the chair, as deviating from the question; on which he said he was not surprised, for the speaker would be the last to get to dinner.

Here the speaker enforced order, which gave rise to the cry of Chair! chair! on which Colonel *Barré* sat down.

Colonel *Onslow*, demanding to be heard on a matter of great importance, insisted upon knowing what the hon. gentleman [Colonel *Barré*] meant by struggles. He had sat a great many years in Parliament, and had common sense; and if no explanation was given, he should take it to signify rebellion. A menace! a threat! and nothing else. Good heaven! (continues Mr. *Onslow*,) to what a predicament are we reduced! The rebellion in America has brought us into a war with France, perhaps soon with Spain, and now nothing but rebellion will do at home. I have long seen this coming on. It will be to-morrow in all the papers, I suppose—for I have common sense—and it must be prevented.

The question being called for, a division was demanded, when there appeared for it 28; against it 103.

Mr. *Fox* then moved to have such Roman Catholics as have subscribed to the late test, exempted from paying double land-tax, for which, he said, the faith of Parliament was pledged at passing the said act.

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Lord *Beauchamp* seconded the motion, not from any intimation of the Roman Catholics, but from mere motives of justice, and thought the question need only be stated, to be honoured with the entire approbation of the House.

Mr. *Herbert* declared his readiness to relieve the sect from any hardship, but thought it wrong to throw the burthen off the shoulders of some, to fix them on those of others.

Sir *Grey Cooper* wished to have the motion dismissed, as it would, if carried, render a re-assessment necessary, besides that it was brought before the House at a very improper time.

Mr. *Burke* was surpris'd to hear an objection to what was so reasonable in its nature, and so inoffensive in its consequences. We had oblig'd the Roman Catholics to subscribe to the test act, in order to remove all suspicion of their disaffection, and now that they had done it, we did not choose to believe them, but seem'd as if we wanted them to take some other oath. He concluded by averring, that all those who have subscribed to the above act should be put upon an equality with his Majesty's other subjects, and be exempted from a double tax on land.

Lord *North* oppos'd this, on account of the confusion it would cause; in every place where a Roman Catholic had land, a re-assessment would be to be made out: not only that, but it would be doing an injustice to one, to do a justice to another.

Mr. *Fox* was sarcastically severe on the minister for affecting to oppose the motion by way of avoiding confusion, who had shewn no scruples in involving a whole continent in the worst state of confusion that ever an empire experienced.

[Lord *Nugent* thought the pretext for refusing the question extremely frivolous, as a re-assessment in the present instance would be attended with no greater trouble than a re-assessment in any other, which was often known to occur; and Mr. Alderman Wilkes took occasion to inform Lord *North*, that there were but four counties that the present motion, as far as a re-assessment went, would operate in. The question, however, was lost without a division, though it was generally understood to be the opinion of the House, that it should be brought on when an opportunity of a maturer consideration should have offer'd itself to the House.]

December 11.

Hon. *T. Luttrell* said, that, in the committee of the navy estimates, he mention'd, in the presence of two great naval

officers, the affair of the 27th of July; and as a publication had appeared in a morning paper, since their return into port, signed with one of their names, containing a personal defence of his own conduct, and supporting it by censuring that of the commander in chief, he did on that day call for some explanation of the matter; when both the hon. gentlemen rose in their places, and respectively defended their characters. Two circumstances came out, however, on that occasion, which formed the true ground of the question he was about to submit to the House this day. One was, that the commander in chief said, that his signal to engage was out from three o'clock in the afternoon till eight in the evening, and was not obeyed. The fact stated was acknowledged to be true by the vice-admiral of the blue; but he justified his not answering the signal, upon a general assertion of the impracticability, from the damage he had received. The admiral's observations contained an implied charge of disobedience; the consequence of which was, that he was prevented from re-attacking the enemy; the vice admiral's acknowledgment went to the direct admission of the fact, qualified by circumstances of disability. So the matter rested for that time, it not being properly before the House. But at the conclusion of the debate, he pledged himself, that he would propose some mode of bringing the affair properly under the consideration of the House, and frame some motion for taking the sense of it, upon a subject which, in every view it could be taken, was, in his opinion, of the first importance. Both the hon. gentlemen were now again in their places.

The motion he intended to make was chiefly founded on the conversation which passed between the admiral and the vice-admiral. It was said, he understood, that his introducing the affair the other night was by previous concert with one of the parties, or his friends. He begged leave to assure the House, that no surmise was ever worse founded; that what he offered at that time entirely proceeded from himself, as did the part he was now going to take. He had acquainted no person in that House, or out of it, with his intentions; nor did he, now he was going to commit it to the sense of the House, know that it would be so much as seconded, unless the vice-admiral himself should, in order to vindicate his character, do that friendly office for him.

He then moved, That an humble address be presented to his Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased to give directions

tions that a court-martial may be held to inquire into the conduct of vice-admiral Sir Hugh Palliser, in and relative to an action off or near Ushant, 27th July last, between his Majesty's fleet and the fleet of France: it appearing to this House, that the said vice-admiral did not obey the signals of his superior commander when preparing to re-engage the ships of the enemy.

After some pause, Sir Hugh Palliser not rising, Sir *Joseph Mawbey* rose and seconded the motion, and urged a few words to shew its propriety and necessity at this dangerous and perplexing period.

Sir *Hugh Palliser* next rose from his seat (next to Lord North on the treasury bench) and, said, that he looked upon himself most injuriously treated by the attack of some dark, concealed assassin, in a newspaper; that he waited on his admiral, as the only person who could afford him that assistance he wanted towards vindicating his character: that his application proving fruitless, he had recourse to the sole means in his power, an appeal to the public, of wiping off the aspersion. This he had done in an open and fair manner. Here the affair rested, till the hon. gentleman, who made the present motion, brought the subject to be discussed in that House; on which occasion, he could not help observing, that the hon. admiral, instead of explaining, acted, in his opinion, in a very unbecoming manner; for, without making any direct accusation of a criminal nature, he substantially charged him with disobedience, and seemed to lay the want of success on the 27th of July at his door; either on the score of refusing what was actually in his power to do, or a mere want of knowledge in his profession.

These were insinuations he had determined he would not lie under; he was conscious he had performed his duty; nor would he, from any motives of convenience, expediency, or public opinion, father the faults of any man. The truth was, that the admiral endeavoured to load him with the public odium of the miscarriage of that day, and compel him to submit to bear the blame of his own mistakes and incapacity.

Sir *William Meredith* here interposed, and apologized for his interrupting the hon. admiral; but said, he did it out of regard for the characters of the two hon. gentlemen; apprehensive that some inadvertent words might drop, which, however they might gratify the curiosity of the House, could have no other effect than to make a break in that public har-

mony, which his country at this critical juncture so much required; and therefore, before he sat down, he begged to lay claim to the indulgence of the House to rise and interpose, if any thing should be advanced by either of the officers, likely to produce the consequence so much dreaded.

Sir *Hugh* proceeded, and said, finding that neither by personal applications, nor from public motives, the admiral could be prevailed upon to do him justice; and that he asserted, in the face of the nation, that he would never serve with him, he found himself drove to the necessity of doing what was extremely irksome and disagreeable; that was, of accusing him of being the cause of our disappointment on that day; in which, if the British flag was not disgraced, it gained no additional honour. He was compelled to do this, to repair the injury done to his honour. Such was the precise situation he stood in. What he had done, therefore, was dictated by self-defence; and he did it with the utmost pain and reluctance, as there were few men living he had a higher veneration and esteem for than the hon. gentleman, as a friend and intimate acquaintance, whom he had known for many years, and whose intimacy and friendship he looked upon as one of the happiest circumstances of his life.

[It is proper to remark here, that on the preceding Wednesday Sir Hugh Palliser exhibited five charges at the Admiralty against Admiral Keppel. A copy of these charges, together with notice to prepare for trial by a court-martial, were sent to Admiral Keppel the same day. Before the House adjourned for the Christmas holidays, the right hon. Sir William Meredith moved, that the time of exhibiting the charges, and the time of sending notice of them to Admiral Keppel, might be laid before the House. In consequence of which the following paper was laid upon the table.

Admiralty-Office, December 17, 1778.

The charge exhibited by Vice Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser against the hon. Admiral Augustus Keppel, was received in a letter from the vice-admiral, dated the 9th December 1778, at about three o'clock the same day (P. M.) and notice was given thereof to Admiral Keppel in a letter from this office at half past ten o'clock the same evening.]

Earl *Nugent* condemned the conduct of the vice-admiral, and was against any trial whatever, and against the motion. He said, such a mode of proceeding, at any time, would be extremely wrong, much more so now when every thing dear, valuable, and important to the nation, was at stake. He said it was extremely imprudent of the vice-admiral to take
notice

notice of an anonymous publication in the manner he did; and equally imprudent to press any one point leading directly to an inquiry, which would call the great naval officers from their duty, the defence of the kingdom, and would create faction in the fleet, and sow dissention among all ranks of seamen, from the admiral to the foremast-man. As to the professional reputation of the two officers, in what instance had either of them suffered? In the public prints: and were those anonymous imputations sufficient grounds for an inquiry? Suppose every fine woman who sees herself calumniated in the same manner, by one of her own sex, who is envious of her charms, was in like manner to demand an inquiry, where would it end? The idea was too absurd to reason upon it. The French, it was true, claimed the victory; a strange effect of conquest! stealing away under covert of the night, leaving their whole western commerce at our mercy, and hiding themselves in port, behind their forts and batteries: yet they asserted in the language of gasconade, so familiar to them, that they conquered; but they lied. I hope I shall receive no challenge for this; if I should, this House must be an old man's second.

Hon. Capt. *R. Boyle Walsingham* censured Sir Hugh's publication; was astonished, in every view the transaction represented itself. He recollected well, that he never saw more cordiality and seeming unanimity in his life, than appeared among all the officers on their return into Plymouth after the affair of the 27th of July. The admirals seemed to live extremely happy together. He dined almost every day with some one party or other. He heard both the hon. admiral and vice-admiral say the handsomest things of each other when absent. There was not a single captain in that service, he believed, with whom at times he did not converse; and he protested, upon his honour, he never heard the most distant insinuation thrown out to the disadvantage of the admiral or vice-admiral. He had extremely to lament that the vice-admiral took notice of the anonymous publication. He had good reason to believe he knew the author, and was perfectly satisfied that it was a lieutenant (aboard the vice admiral's own ship.) He warmly recommended unanimity, and said he would give his negative to the motion.

Lord *Shuldham* followed the last speaker in the same line of argument and persuasion, and confirmed every thing the hon. captain had asserted, being present at the scene described; and solemnly affirmed, that not the most distant insinua-

tion transpired, to the prejudice of any or either of the commanders.

Lord *North* said, that the House had not a single tittle of evidence to support it as a resolution of a matter of fact.

Sir *William Meredith* moved that the latter part of the resolution should be omitted, because there was no proof of disobedience before the House; and if there even was, he thought it would be extremely improper to order a trial, upon such a motion of pre-judgment.

Lord *North* agreed with the right honourable gentleman in his amendment; and said, he should give the remaining part of the motion a negative, in some shape or other.

Lord *John Cavendish* was of the same sentiments; expressed his sorrow that, at so critical a moment, such unhappy dissensions should arise. He was of opinion, that it would not be proper to give a direct negative, but rather to do it by the previous question, or by moving the order of the day.

Admiral *Keppel* rose, and thanked his friends on every side of the House for their personal partiality for him, and their unwillingness that any inquiry should be made into his conduct, as one of the parties concerned in the affair of the 27th of July. But that was now over; he had been accused, and publicly accused. Specific charges of neglect, incapacity, &c. had been lodged at the Admiralty Board; and he had notice, in consequence of this accusation, from that Board, to prepare for a court-martial. However disagreeable some of the concomitant circumstances might have been, he was now forty years in the service, and it was one of the most pleasing passages of his life. He did not court the inquiry, for many obvious reasons, some of which had been mentioned in the course of the debate; but now that inquiry was determined upon, he should meet it with coolness, calmness, and inward satisfaction.

The honourable gentleman, who was his accuser, had, in his speech, stated the necessity of his conduct, on account of the insinuations thrown out by him the last night. He appealed to the candour and recollection of the House, whether what he said admitted of so unfavourable an interpretation; if it did; he surely did not intend to do so. He stated a fact, but so far from drawing any conclusion from it, he said, the only fault that he knew the vice-admiral to be guilty of, was writing a letter in the morning paper, signed "Hugh Palliser;" and if he was of that rancorous disposition which such an imputation would imply, he might have insisted on having the hon. gentleman tried for promoting mutiny aboard the fleet;

fleet; for, most certainly, whatever goes directly to charge the commander with neglect, &c. in this public manner, is of a mutinous tendency. Thank God, he was not the accuser, but the accused! He was called out to serve his country at a very critical period: he had performed his duty to the best of his abilities; and whatever the issue may be, he had one consolation, that he had acted strictly to the best of his judgment. He should decline saying a syllable to the question, as he could not think of voting, and should quit the House. [There was an almost general plaudit at the end of each sentence.] He went away.

Admiral *Pigot* entered into a recapitulation of the many public and private virtues possessed by the hon. admiral who had just quitted the House. He said he had been forty-four years in the service himself, forty of which he had the honour of being acquainted with the hon. admiral; both as a private and public man, as a gentleman and a seaman; in the whole course of which, he never knew a single action of his life that did not serve to produce some instance highly deserving the approbation of every good and honest man. As to the vice-admiral, he said, though he had not known him so long, he always esteemed him as a worthy man, and a brave officer; but, standing, as he did, he would prefer truth to opinion; he would speak out, he would speak without prejudice, and express himself freely, and without the least degree of reserve.

The hon. gentleman had accused himself in a newspaper, signed with his own name: when he said he had accused himself, he meant, that he had substantially done so; for, in answer to an anonymous publication, he had written a letter to his admiral, in which he agitated a point little known, and universally unattended to, that of not obeying the signal for battle, which was flying from three o'clock in the afternoon till eight in the evening; the consequence of which was, that he acted the part of his own accuser. He acknowledged that he did not obey the signal; and, by that acknowledgment, admitted a fact that it was impossible for the admiral to explain away were he so inclined, because it was that species of proof that no man could controvert.

By the motion now on the table, the same admission on the part of the vice-admiral was brought before and into the recollecting of the House. What then could Admiral Keppel do? He could not contradict the vice-admiral's own words; he could not take a blame upon himself which he was no way answerable for; nor could he, consistently with his own honour, or the service he was engaged in, ven-
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ture to sea with a person who had, in a public newspaper, signed with his name, censured his conduct as commander in chief on the day of action.

On the other hand, what was the conduct of the vice admiral? He is present on the 27th of July; he is a witness to the pretended neglect and misconduct of the admiral; he returns to port, and, while on shore, continues on a footing of friendship with his commander. He goes a second time to sea, and returns a second time; and yet all this time there is not a word of censure or complaint on his part; and now, at the end of almost five months, he exhibits an accusation against his principal.

He affirmed, (for he would not speak out,) that the admiralty acted very rashly and hastily in this business. An officer of Mr. Keppel's rank, services, and professional character, deserved another kind of treatment. The admiralty-board should have deliberated, and have acted with a becoming caution before they received the vice-admiral's complaint; at least, before they acted upon it, or took a single official step in consequence of the accusation made against Mr. Keppel. They should have considered the grounds of difference, the circumstances which produced them; they should have recollected, that the vice-admiral was personally displeased with his principal. He said, he was extremely sorry for the conduct of the vice-admiral, so far as it respected that gentleman personally; but he confessed he was astonished at the conduct of the admiralty-board, which could act in so hasty, precipitate, and seemingly partial a manner.

Lord *Mulgrave* said, the constitution of the board was this: they were, in all matters of accusation, obliged to act ministerially; they had no judicial power; but when a complaint was preferred, they were of course not only compelled, in discharge of their office, to receive it, but to give the necessary directions to proceed to trial. Apply then the constitution of the board to the point in question. The vice admiral prefers an accusation, consisting of five separate articles, or charges, properly drawn up, and specifically pointed. What then could the admiralty-board do? They must either take upon them to prejudge the truth of those charges, or admit them to be such as were fit to be sent to the consideration of a court-martial. The first they could not, dared not do, being totally ignorant of the truth or fallacy of them; the second they were obliged to comply with, because the matter admitted of no alternative. If there was any fault in receiving the accusation, and acting in the first instance ministerially

nisterially upon it, by ordering a court-martial, he, for one, was ready to take the fault upon himself. He acted to the best of his judgment; and if the same thing was to happen again, he should act precisely in the same manner.

Admiral *Pigot* said, that the hand of the admiralty-board was not tied up in the manner described by the noble Lord, because that would amount to a principle which would go to the destruction of all naval service, and leave in fact every superior officer at the mercy of his inferior. He said, the vice-admiral's conduct was such as would fully justify caution and deliberation in the admiralty-board. Five months the vice-admiral remains silent; at the end of five months he exhibits a charge of neglect, &c. against his admiral. In this interim he serves under him; he goes to sea a second time under his command, and now appears as an accuser, for the express purpose of vindicating his own character. He would not pretend to say, but he was pretty sure, the admiralty-board could not be restricted in the manner described by the noble Lord; that they were not precluded from exercising their own judgment; nor were obliged, in any instance, to give effect or existence to a charge which they were previously persuaded was frivolous or ill-founded; or had at least great right to suppose that it originated more in personal resentment than in any just foundation.

Mr. *Burke* now rose, and desired an act of the 22d of George II. section 33, to be read, which provides that all complaints against officers in the navy shall be prepared within three years after the fact committed, or within one year after their arrival in any port of Great Britain or Ireland. This, he said, altered the law as it formerly stood; for, previous to this act, the admiralty-board might, to gratify resentments or factious purposes, receive a complaint against any commander, or any other officer, without limitation in point of time. Here then was the clearest testimony of the previous existence of a discretionary power in the admiralty-board. If there had been no previous discretion in the admiralty-board, there could be no occasion for confining it. If there was a discretionary power then, it continued still in force, in every other respect; for that was the only instance in the whole act in which it was limited.

Lord *Mulgrave* said the clause just read pointed to a particular grievance, and gave a remedy; but it was not by implication, or remote deductions, that the law of the 22d of his late Majesty was to be explained. It was an aggregate of all the laws which were then in being relative to the admiralty,
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the exercise of its official powers, and all the subordinate functions exercised under its authority. The affair in the Mediterranean, under Mathews and Lestock, had given rise to several new difficulties, which the statute of 1749 was framed to correct. It had been strongly urged, that several officers, who had been accused of high crimes, were permitted to escape with impunity; because there remained a power in the admiralty-board, or commander in chief, to refuse to proceed upon accusations openly and specifically made. He did not wish to make any application of what passed on that occasion to the present times; but, if he recollected right, the vice-admiral [Lestock] found himself in a very disagreeable situation. He found his conduct impeached; he demanded a court-martial, but was refused it. In short, the numerous inconveniencies which arose in the course of that well-known miscarriage, in the Mediterranean, was the true cause of the statute of the 22d George II. in which it is specially enacted, (not founded in inference or vague deduction,) that, upon an accusation delivered by a known accuser, the admiralty-board shall give immediate orders for a court-martial, which court-martial shall consist of the senior flag officer of the port at which the board shall appoint the inquiry to be made, and the thirteen senior captains.

This is the constitution of the admiralty-board: and under this constitution, he contended, that the board was bound to act merely ministerially, and in no other manner; the accusation being made, the board had no option; they could not reject; they could not qualify: they must act as they did, or not at all: if, indeed, the accusation was loosely or inaccurately drawn up; if it was frivolous and vexatious in its tendency; if it was destitute of specification; then it might have been the duty of the admiralty to have looked to the consequence of such a loose, indefinite charge; to which, from its want of specification or inaccuracy, no proper defence could be made, nor any definite issue taken: but, in justification of the board at which he was placed, he begged leave to say, that the accusation preferred by the vice-admiral contained five specific defined charges, directly affirmative of misconduct, neglect of duty, of the admiral's not doing all in his power to destroy or re-attack the enemy; and therefore the board could not discretionarily reject them.

Admiral Pigot said, the noble Lord's description of the constitution of the admiralty-board, under the statute, was ridiculous; it was monstrous; and would, if true, destroy all service and subordination. By the noble Lord's reasoning,

ing, he would wish to persuade the House of the existence of this principle, that the commanders in chief were liable, at the pleasure of any inferior officer, or a lieutenant, or a midshipman, to be accused in the manner described by the noble Lord; on which, without any previous communication whatever, the admiralty-board were instantly compelled, in the language of the noble Lord, to give directions for a speedy trial. What, for instance, would have been the case of the honourable admiral, now absent from his place, on his last sailing from Portsmouth, when the very fate of the kingdom was at stake, and when a very few days delay might have proved fatal, if some lieutenant or midshipman aboard his fleet had made any one specific charge, answering the description of the noble Lord, respecting his conduct on the 27th of July? That he would have received notice from the board, that a court-martial would be speedily held upon him, to answer the specific charge or charges made; that the next in command under him, at that port, was to sit as president on his trial; and that the thirteen eldest captains were to be his triers. The principle maintained by the noble Lord went this length, or it amounted to nothing. If the principle of discretion was abandoned in any one instance, it must in every other where the charge was specific. What, in this presumed case, would be the condition of the nation? The admiral must be brought to immediate trial; and all the operations at sea suspended, till another successor is appointed. This, he contended, would be such a state of things, as was monstrous to think on. He was certain, by what he could learn, it was never the intention of the framers of the act, nor the practice of any one commissioner of the admiralty who acted under it, since it was framed, to proceed in so preposterous and extraordinary a manner.

He turned to the conduct of the vice-admiral, who, he said, had affected all along to have been induced to answer an anonymous publication, so often alluded to, and proceeded to subsequent steps, merely for the sake of clearing up his honour, and having his conduct inquired into; yet what has the vice-admiral done? Instead of urging an inquiry, such as he seemed desirous to press for from the beginning, he has shrunk from it in his own person, and has endeavoured to evade it, by accusing his commander in chief.

Lord *John Cavendish* said, the arguments and deductions of the noble Lord [Lord Mulgrave] went plainly to this, that every professional man might accuse his inferior or superior; and that the accusation must be received; and if speci-

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fic and direct, the admiralty-board must proceed by ordering an immediate trial; because they acted ministerially, and were obliged to comply, without any deliberation. If the admiralty-board was thus tied up, the most speedy and effectual means ought to be adopted, to put that board upon a different footing; if it was not, then every thing urged by the noble Lord at that board was at an end. It was the spirit of all jurisdictions in this country to deliberate before they determined. It was the use of a grand jury to stand between the accused and accuser; and though he would not pretend to give a decided opinion on the subject, he was led to believe, that the admiralty-board were invested with a declared or implied power to deliberate upon the nature and circumstances of the charge, and to act in the capacity of a grand jury, by giving a legal operation to the charge, or rejecting it as ill-founded, vexatious, &c.

Mr. Fox said, as the noble Lord [Lord Mulgrave] had said, that the admiralty-board acted only ministerially, and could only proceed upon specific accusations given in; and as he was convinced his noble relation [Admiral Keppel] would never submit now, be his provocations ever so great, to become an accuser, he thought it would be extremely improper to give the motion a direct negative; because, if Sir Hugh Palliser should not bring on an inquiry into his own conduct, the justice of the nation would be eluded: he meant, if it should appear, as he trusted it would, that his honourable relation had performed his duty.

On the last day the vice-admiral was in his place in this House, he said, he wished most earnestly for an inquiry into his conduct, if it could be so consistently with the interests of his country, at this very important period. Without a single additional reason that could operate on his conduct between that day and last Wednesday, instead of preferring the interests of his country to personal feeling and justification, what has the honourable gentleman done? He has not applied for an inquiry into his own conduct, the professed object of his news-paper publication, and his declarations in this House; but he has, in the first instance, fled from the inquiry himself, by accusing his admiral: and has, besides, sacrificed what he deemed, and so often repeated, to be the interests of his country, not to his own defence or justification, but to the accusation of his principal.

General Conway said, he looked upon it that every official board was invested with a discretionary power; he believed it was so in the army, though he did not pretend to say positively.

ly. When he presided at a certain board [ordnance], he always understood that he had a power to reject complaints, as well as receive them.

General *Keppel* said, the usage of the army was to refer the complaint to a board of general officers, who reported to his Majesty, through the medium of the secretary at war; and the King gave orders to proceed, or not, as he thought fit.

Sir *Hugh Palliser* said, he found that no reparation for his injured honour was to be obtained, but by a trial. It could not be expected that he would accuse himself. The honourable admiral, absent from his place, though he censured him, by openly declaring that he would never serve with him, at the same time refused to make that kind of accusation which alone could put him in a way of vindicating himself; he was therefore drove to the necessity of becoming an accuser, when he could not obtain justice by any other mode. If his conduct was criminal, why did not the honourable admiral call him to account in a proper manner? If it was not criminal, how could the admiral reconcile to himself the publicly charging him with disobedience, and accompanying that charge with a declaration that he would never again serve with him? The truth was, the public were disappointed relative to the event of the engagement of the 27th of July. No mark of disapprobation appeared in the conduct of the admiral, till this circumstance was known, when it was industriously circulated, that it was the fault of the rear-admiral of the fleet that the French Squadron was not re-attacked. This was the true state of the case. And as to not making his accusation earlier, the same question might be asked of the admiral, why did he not mention his disapprobation earlier?

Sir *Joseph Mildmay* said, the whole had every appearance of a pre-concerted scheme to ruin the admiral; that the vice-admiral was a member of the board which had given legal existence to the accusation; that he was called to that board through the favour of the first Lord of the admiralty, who, it was known, directed its deliberations; and that there were the strongest reasons to believe that——

Lord *Mulgrave* called the last speaker to order; and insisted, that he ought not to be permitted to make charges which amounted to a criminal accusation, if true, without supporting such accusation with proofs; besides, the whole matter was foreign to the debate.

Mr. *Burke* to order said, that the honourable gentleman who had been interrupted was not disorderly; that what he

was

was submitting to the House, was perfectly relative to the subject under consideration. It went no further than presumption, and of course called for no proofs: suspicion was a good ground of presumption, and presumption was at all times, in that House, maintainable in argument.

Sir *Richard Sutton* said, he would mention a fact, which was, that an honourable friend of his [Admiral Graves] who had served in America, and, during his absence, was made the subject of news-paper malevolence, in order to vindicate his character, applied to the admiralty-board for a court martial, but was refused, upon this ground, that they could not bring him to trial without a previous accusation, and that the King was perfectly pleased with his services.—This fact, he said, proved two things: first, that the vice-admiral could not bring on an inquiry into his own conduct; and secondly, that the powers of the admiralty-board were merely ministerial.

Sir *Joseph Mawbey* said, he had a right to argue upon suspicion and presumption; and, looking upon himself perfectly justified, by the reasons assigned by his honourable friend [Mr. Burke], pointed those suspicions directly at the first Lord of the admiralty, and pressed, without reserve, that species of presumptive proof which his suspicions supplied him with. The noble Lord [Sandwich] was the mouth of that board; that the inferior commissioners were no better than cyphers; and that, consequently, every act, whether deliberative, ministerial, or otherwise, was solely the act of the noble Lord, howsoever disguised; that the present accusation had every appearance of a pre-concerted plan to ruin the admiral; and that he hoped and trusted, that so black, malignant, and treacherous a step, to strip one of the brightest naval characters this country could ever boast of, would meet with the honest indignation it merited, and finally lead to a full detection of the authors of so infamous a project.

Sir *Hugh Palliser* affirmed, upon his honour, that he had no previous concert with the noble Lord alluded to, nor with any individual at the admiralty-board; that what he had done was purely the vindication of his own honour and character; that, such being the object he had all along in contemplation, he never communicated a syllable of his intentions to any man; and, be the event what it might, he could with truth repeat, that he acted throughout upon his own judgment, without either consultation or advice.

Hon. *T. Luttrell* said, that he should ever look upon a fact asserted by any honourable member in his place in that House,

House, as entitled to full credit, if not contradicted upon equal authority, and by the party concerned ; but when the fact stated concerned a person present, and that the fact was acknowledged by that party, he could not hesitate an instant to give it full credit, in the manner, and to the full extent, it had been asserted and acknowledged.

The fact stated by the honourable admiral, now absent, in a former debate, was, that the vice admiral did not obey the signal ; which was confirmed by the vice admiral himself, who acknowledged the flag was flying for five hours, but that the condition of his division did not permit him to obey it. This was such a species of proof, as exceeded any other mode, however formal or solemn ; and he would prefer it to any circuitous medium of proof whatever ; because it was of the first authority, being delivered in the face of the nation in that House.

These were the grounds on which the latter part of his motion was founded ; but as an honourable gentleman [Mr. Fox] and a noble Lord [Lord John Cavendish] and others, did not approve of any motion which seemed to bear the appearance of pre-judgment, he very readily consented to the amendment. Besides, he thought that the vice admiral, having no other objection to the motion, would gladly close with the preceding part ; because, from every thing he said the preceding day this business was agitated, he professed an inquiry into his conduct on the 27th of July to be the dearest and warmest wish of his heart. The only qualification mixed with this earnest desire of the vice-admiral was, that he feared it might prove of national injury, and impede the public service ; yet, in a few days after, the vice admiral, by accusing his principal, not by calling for an inquiry into his own conduct, causes those very mischiefs and inconveniencies, he affirmed, he was solely desirous to prevent. Such, then, being the true state of the case, however eager some gentlemen might be to get rid of the question, by the order of the day, &c. he hoped, in vindication of his own honour as a professional man, and his consistency of conduct as a member of that House, that the vice admiral, recollecting all the circumstances, would do every thing in his power to bring himself under the effect of the amended motion. The only objection of inconveniency, &c. no longer existed. Mr. Keppel's trial put an end to every argument which could be raised on that ground. The senior flag officer, and the thirteen senior captains at the port where the court martial was fixed to be held, must attend the trial, and decide on the con-

duct of Mr. Keppel, which circumstances would give an opportunity to the vice admiral, at the same time, to vindicate his character. The same trial would do for both; the inconveniences, be they what they may, would be consolidated into one transaction; and the justice of the nation be satisfied; which, he affirmed, after what had passed, could never be effected, unless the vice admiral was brought to a court martial.

The conduct of the vice admiral, should he refuse to close with this proposition, would seem to be copied from what appeared in a pamphlet towards the conclusion of the late war, and looked upon, at that time, as the production of an able lawyer [supposed to mean Mr. Wedderburne], in which it was observed, that if the noble Lord who commanded the British cavalry at Minden, instead of demanding and insisting upon an inquiry into his own conduct, on the day of battle, had accused the commander in chief, the Prince of Brunswick, the disgrace and dishonour, which was the consequence of that trial, would have fallen on the Prince, and not upon the noble Lord.

Lord *North* said, when he sat at the admiralty-board, he always understood the powers of that board were merely ministerial.

Mr. *Welbore Ellis* said the same.

Mr. *Penton* said the same.

Mr. *Fox* said, he also had sat at the admiralty-board for some time, and the received opinion of the admiralty-board at that time was, that they had a right to act discretionally, and, as often as occasion occurred, they had always done so, to receive, in some instances, and reject in others.

Sir *William Meredith* condemned the conduct of Sir *Hugh Palliser*, and expressed his earnest desire, that Parliament would openly and decisively interfere to prevent any inquiry.

As to the question under discussion, he remembered a particular transaction which happened while he sat at the admiralty-board, which was perfectly applicable to it. A complaint was made against a Captain *Clements*, by an officer aboard his own ship, of embezzling stores, &c. The board did not directly determine how to act. The complaint seemed to proceed from malice. At length, though Sir *Charles Saunders* went away, and Mr. *Keppel* seemed doubtful how to act, he dismissed the complaint; the consequence of which was, that the first Lord [late Lord *Egmont*] returned his particular thanks to him and his deceased friend, on the propriety of their conduct.

Mr. *Burke*, after declaring his intention of giving his dissent to the amendment motion, entered into an investigation of the propriety of the conduct of the admiralty-board, which, he affirmed, was the true substantial question before the House. But previous to his argument, he said, he must say a few words of the hon. admiral now absent. He emphatically asked, was this the return he met with, after forty years painful and laborious service, and after being in ten capital engagements, or important conflicts, in every one of which he had, either as possessed of the sole command, or acting in a subordinate character, acquitted himself with the highest honour and reputation? Was it an adequate return for a person of his rank and consequence, standing forth as the favourite, selected champion of his country, in the moment of danger and difficulty? He desired no return, but that which he had already earned, and was sure of receiving without diminution; a return which it was not in the power of the admiralty to bestow, or withhold—an inward consciousness of having performed his duty; of having stepped forward to shield his country from the ruin meditated by an insolent and ambitious foe; followed by the united thanks of his fellow-subjects, the gratitude and esteem of every good man of every party. These were the motives which called Mr. Keppel out into actual service; these were the rewards (and nobler and greater could not be), which he might count upon receiving.

He then entered into a short view of the action of the 27th of July. The enemy were driven into their lurking hole, where they remained in privacy and dishonour, while the British flag was borne triumphant within sight of their coasts. He confirmed his assertions, by commenting on the account of the engagements that appeared in the French Gazette, which he proved to consist of an heap of contradictions, absurdities, &c. and the whole taken together, as public information by authority, composing the veriest gasconade that ever disgraced the annals of any country;—such as running away under cover of the night, and pretending, that in the morning they found themselves accidentally at the mouth of Brest harbour; and their abandoning the whole of their commerce, in the most critical season of the year, to fall a prey to our privateers and letters of marque.

He begged leave to remind the House, that the noble Lord [Mulgrave] who maintained, that the admiralty-board could only act ministerially, had indeed, in fact, (though he presumed not intentionally,) given up the argument.—The noble

Lord's principal defence consisted in asserting, that when charges were specifically made, and were of sufficient importance, the board was compelled to act upon them; and to issue an order for immediate trial; but, adds the noble Lord, if they seem frivolous, or the accusation is not of sufficient importance, the board may, and will reject. Is not this at once substituting discretion, for acting merely as an instrument created by law? If the board can deliberate, examine, and decide upon the nature of a complaint, by what is this discretionary power limited? The noble Lord has said, that no such power is permitted or created by the statute. If not, then it must have resided in the board all along, and the board was not divested of it by the statute. Should the noble Lord deny the latter, then his exception comes at once to nothing. The board is not competent, in any instance, to judge; or, if competent, the board, in every such act, exercises a discretionary power; the conclusion is clear either way. Every absurdity, villainy, and evil, which malice, rage, or folly, can suggest, is a proper subject to be sent to be inquired into by a court-martial, or the admiralty-board have the right contended for, that of judging of the magnitude, extent, and probability of the charge; the circumstances which brought it into existence, and every other matter connected with it which may enable them to be the means of promoting general and particular justice.

He finally proceeded to consider the nature of the incompetency contended for by the noble Lord.

This, he observed, must be either natural or artificial; that is, it meant that the admiralty-board never had the discretionary power insisted upon; or, having it, that power was taken away by the statute.

That it had no natural incompetency would, he presumed, be hardly asserted seriously in debate. The clause read by the clerk at the table proved it; and the very evils stated so ably by the noble Lord, which the statute, he said, was purposefully framed to prevent, was the fullest evidence that this discretion existed previous to the act of the 22d of the late King.

If then the admiralty-board was not naturally incompetent, it followed of course, that its present supposed incompetency must have been caused by some subsequent act; which could be no other than that of the 22d of George II. so often alluded to.

Here then the issue lay between him and the noble Lord. It was brought upon its true ground, and was narrowed to the single question; has the statute taken away the previous discretionary

discretionary power existing in the admiralty-board in every instance? He contended it did not, nor restrained it in a single instance but the one mentioned. The powers of the board remained the same after as before the passing of that act; if they did not, in his opinion such was the rashness and hastiness of those who now preside at that board, respecting their conduct to the hon. admiral, that it was highly incumbent to give Parliament, and the nation, the most full and satisfactory proofs, that they could not have acted otherwise than they did without a breach of duty; for if this was not complied with, every evil and misfortune such a precipitate conduct (he would call it no worse) might be productive of, would be laid at their door.

Mr. *Attorney General* allowed the force of the last gentleman's arguments as to the natural competency of the admiralty; but met his second and third questions upon the ground that the statute had altered the law.

In reply to the military officers who spoke in the debate, he observed, that the naval and military establishments varied most essentially in their constitution; that the King was the sole and dernier judge in military affairs, of what was and was not fit to be sent to a court martial for inquiry; whereas his Majesty had nothing at all to do with the admiralty-board; he could neither, in his own person, promote or arrest any proceeding upon an accusation. There were two modes in which the admiralty-board could act; one was under the circumstances of the matter in discussion, upon receiving an accusation, which he affirmed they were bound ministerially to comply with; the other, they were vested with a discretionary power, they might, upon good apparent grounds, accuse from their own knowledge, or strong suspicions; and, as in the other case, put the party accused on his trial.

Much had been urged to prove that the restrictive obligation on the admiralty-board to act ministerially, without any deliberation or interpositional discretion, was contrary to the pervading principle of the whole system of criminal jurisprudence in this country, and the operative power of the constitution, from which it originated; that our courts, in every instance, had placed some species or other of deliberate power between the accused and accuser, analogous to a grand jury. This, he insisted, was no fixed principle of either our constitution or our laws. There were many instances in which a grand jury could not interpose, and where it would be totally unnecessary and improper that they should; but whether, in the present instance, the admiralty-board ought

to have a power to deliberate and determine upon their own discretion, was not the question; but whether they were actually invetted with it? He was free to maintain and prove that they were not; consequently every argument raised upon the presumed ability that they could, instantly fell to the ground, and vanished into air.

It had been much insisted upon by the hon. gentleman, [Admiral Pigot], and by several other gentlemen who spoke later, that if the board could only act ministerially, that every officer, be his rank, or services, or reputation ever so high, would be liable to be accused, and publicly impeached in the face of his country by the very unpleasant ordeal of a court martial. This argument had little more weight than the last, for the purpose in which it was used; it clearly imported no more in point of conclusion than merely this; that to avoid the mischiefs which such a restrictive power must permit, more liberal and extensive powers ought to be vested in the admiralty-board. But, as a general principle affecting individuals only, he did not see that the gentlemen of the navy stood single in this instance. Every professional man, nay every man, be his character ever so highly respected, or his innocence ever so evident, was liable not only to suffer under aspersions, but to be brought to trial for the commission of a crime that never entered into his contemplation, and which his soul abhorred; and that too without any power interposing between the accused and the accuser. Such was one of the inevitable concomitants of living in society; and such was the happy distinction that prevailed in this country, that although every man was liable to be accused, no innocent man was liable to be punished.

Mr. *Dunning* closed the debate. He said, he did not mean to rise at so late an hour, had not some law positions, of the most extraordinary texture and tendency he ever heard, within or without the walls of that House, fallen from a learned and hon. gentleman who had just sat down. Were it not for his rank in his profession, he should have remained silent; but as that circumstance might have a tendency to impose and mislead some one auditor or other, he thought it his duty to pay a little attention to the argument of his learned friend.

It would, he believed, be sufficient only to state the argument, in order to shew the gross absurdity with which it was fraught.

The learned gentleman set out with describing the admiralty-board as a piece of mere official mechanism, without any one power or function but what was imparted to it by the

the statute. The learned gentleman, taking this for granted, follows it with another assertion, which we are instructed to give credit to upon the same authority. He tells you, that the admiralty-board is thus mechanized by an act of Parliament. I admire the ingenuity of the learned gentleman. He has made one assertion without proof, and expects that you should believe his second assertion, upon the modest claim that the first was incontrovertibly established.

After dwelling some time on the structure of the learned gentleman's logic, he next proceeded to examine the several parts of what he called this curious piece of mechanism; and the degree of impulsive motion supposed to be communicated to it by the act of Parliament.

The accusation is delivered to the board; the board may or may not examine the charge; for if they do, according to the learned gentleman's argument, it can be to no manner of purpose, farther than that of gratifying an idle, or being punished in their feelings by a painful curiosity. But examine or not, be the accusation ever so absurd, malicious, or improbable, the party accused must have immediate notice of trial. If I have pushed the argument further than it was stated, I desire to be corrected. Now, I would ask the learned gentleman, or the noble Lord who has so often risen in this debate, whether the board, thus mechanically restricted, have in fact any power at all? Might not any accusation be as well delivered to an inferior clerk, or the office-keeper, as to the board? The effect would be equally the same in one event as the other, and the numerous evils arising from such an unlimited licence to accuse, and such an uniform ministerial acquiescence to the pretended obligation to bring every such accusation into actual existence, as the first ministerial step to immediate trial, be past remedy or correction, if the accusation was lodged with the fire-lighter, as with the first commissioners. After saying that the board had always a deliberative and discretionary power to receive or reject, and that the act of the 22d of George II. neither divested, curtailed, or altered that power, he proceeded to controvert the principles of law maintained by his learned antagonist.

The first, he said, was the position, that there were instances in our laws, in which no interpositional power stood between the accused and the accuser. He desired the learned gentleman to support it by a single case or example. If in all instances a grand jury was not resorted to, there was a discretionary power provided to answer the same end. Such was the case in all criminal prosecutions by way of information, in the court of King's Bench, in extraordinary cases, for the

the speedy furtherance of justice. There the party accusing was to come into court substantially on the same terms that he would come before a grand jury. He or his counsel must state the grounds of his application for justice ; he must give his reasons, and, before any step is taken to admit him an accuser, notice by rule must be served upon the opposite party : after which the parties are heard face to face upon the merits ; and the judges, after full deliberation in open court, either grant the application made by the accuser, or, by refusing it, send him back to the ordinary remedy of procuring justice in the courts of criminal jurisdiction.

As to the other extraordinary argument, that every man, professional or not professional, however innocent or respectable, was liable to be put upon his trial, on the accusation of the most worthless or profligate of his species ; this, he contended, was equally erroneous and fallacious ; for he knew of no one single instance, from the highest to the lowest criminal act, with which a man was charged, that some power did not interpose between him and his accuser. What he had now mentioned, was already a full and sufficient answer ; he would, however, repeat it ; that no man could be put upon his trial, till a bill was found against him by a grand jury, or until the accusation brought against him was deliberated upon, either in Parliament, or the court of King's Bench, and the probable truth of the charge fully proved ; to the satisfaction of those to whom the constitution had delegated this discretionary power.

He said, he was really ashamed to trespass on the House upon a matter so plain in itself ; and he was astonished to hear such absurdity obtruded upon the discernment and good sense of an House of Parliament ; nothing but the gross texture of the imposition attempted to be put upon it could have induced him to rise ; because the question was not that properly before the House ; but if no proper or further notice should be taken, or explanation given, he meant to make this monstrous doctrine the separate subject of some future day ; and pledged himself to prove that the admiralty-board had the discretionary power he now contended for, and which, in the course of the debate, had been so ably urged by several gentlemen on that side of the House.

Sir *William Meredith's* amendment was agreed to ; after which the order of the day was moved, and the House adjourned to the 14th.

December 14.

Mr. *Jenkinson* opened the army estimates for 1779. He moved that the army should be augmented with 14,000 men. He enumerated the whole force thus: 30,000 for guards and garrisons; 39,000 militia and fencible men; 44,000 British in America, Gibraltar, &c.; 4,000 artillery; 8,000 troops, Irish establishment, serving in America; 24,000 foreign troops, serving in America and the fortresses in the Mediterranean; and 14,000, additional companies; if to these were added 78,000 seamen and marines; 42,000 Europeans and regular troops serving in India; 6,000 provincials, and 10,000 on the Irish establishment; the whole force, in British pay, would be found to amount to the almost incredible number of 300,000 fighting men; a military power considerably greater than had ever been kept up in modern times, except in the most flourishing period of the reign of Louis XIV.

The mode of augmenting would, he trusted, be equally speedy and œconomic; it would cause no new establishment, or bring after it the burthen of half-pay; for the augmentation was to consist entirely of private men, who, in the proportion of two full companies, were to be distributed among the battalion and detached companies, in equal proportions, so as to complete each regiment or battalion to 940 men.

This mode was to take place immediately in all the regiments in the service, excepting those under the convention of Saratoga; and in them too, when some fortunate event should set them at liberty. He had not the least doubt but he should be able to raise as many men as would be sufficient to make up the establishment for the ensuing year, as the recruiting service had been attended with amazing success, more men having been enlisted last year than during any of the three former years; for, in eleven months only, since last October, there had been raised, including the new corps, between twenty-two and twenty-three thousand men.

General *Burgoyne* could not repress the indignation and concern he felt at the slight thrown on his army at Boston, by excepting the regiments that compose it out of the proposed regulation: upwards of 30 officers belonging to that corps were then in town, and having been some exchanged, some released under the treaty, they were in the capacity of serving their country, if administration did not tie their hands by shutting them out from the common lot of the rest of their brother officers. The soldiers at Boston deserved the most grateful treatment from their country; for however criminal their general might have been, they had done every thing that could be performed
by

by men ; they had fought more than once, and were reduced to the sad task of surrendering, only when they were opposed by an army six times more numerous and strong ; for at the time that it was reported in England, that he had 12,000 regulars under his command, he had not half that number ; and at the time that he capitulated, he was at the head of only 3500 effective men, and was attacked by an army full 17,000 strong.

He assented to the augmentation, because we should want all the men we could raise ; but he would not consent that any should be sent to America to continue the war, which he declared that, taught and corrected by experience, he believed could never be terminated with success on our side. He should be happy to hear that Sir Henry Clinton was to continue in the command of the army ; but as it was reported that he was returning home, for not having been properly reinforced, it was proper to know, before we voted an army for America, who was the person to command it ; and also, who was the minister who was to have the direction of the war ; for, under the present American secretary, no success was to be expected. He then mentioned the private letter which Lord George Germaine had laid before the House, and which, it was said, had slipped into the bag without the knowledge of his Lordship ; and wished sincerely that the whole of his private correspondence was laid before the House, that a fair inquiry might take place into his conduct, and that of the noble Lord, during the campaign of the northern expedition.

Mr. *Jenkinson* declared that he had not the least intention of throwing a slight on the army at Boston ; his only motive for leaving the regiments that compose it out of the regulation proposed, until they shall have been released, was, that the public money which should come to their share for raising recruits, should not be raised at that time, when it must remain useless in the hands of the paymaster general, as no recruits could be sent to them in their present situation.

Lord *George Germaine* said, he was sorry that the hon. gentleman's constant digression from the business before the House, to his own personal concerns, made it necessary for him to trouble the committee upon a subject foreign to the question on the table. When the papers relative to the northern expedition had been laid upon the table, he really did not know that the letter, called by the hon. general a private letter, had been among them ; and yet he would say, that, if he had known, he probably would not have laid it
aside,

aside, as he deemed it an instrument more of a public than a private nature; and if the House should think proper to have the whole of the correspondence brought before them, he would not have the least objection to the measure. With regard to the person who was to have the command of the army in America, he knew of no other than Sir Henry Clinton; nor had that officer desired to be re-called in disgust, for want of reinforcement; on the contrary, in his last letter, in which he asked leave to return, he said his aid de camp would explain his motive for it, which was, that he wished to state his ideas of the future conduct of the war in person; and that if leave should be granted him to come to England, he would be ready to return to his army in a week after he should have conferred with administration. With regard to his continuance in office, the very moment he could learn that the House wished to see him retire, he would lay down his employments with pleasure; and if the hon. general could find a pleasure in seeing him resign, he should certainly have that pleasure, if the army now in America should be ordered to abandon it. As to reinforcements which gentlemen apprehended were to be sent to America, he knew of none; none were ordered for that service, except the recruits, which were to fill up the vacancies of the regiments.

Lord *Adam Gordon* approved of the plan for completing the regiments; but wished to learn how ministers intended to raise the men; for the country had been already so drained, that it would, in his opinion, be a very difficult matter to raise the additional 14,000.

Mr. *Fox* was against pursuing the war in America. He believed there was a fatality in the American war which corresponded with that of Xerxes against Greece. Lord North he compared to the minister of that Prince, who vindicating himself, might have said, I promised to build a bridge over the Hellespont; I built it: I promised to sail through Mount Athos; I sailed through it: I promised to supply your army with all necessaries; I performed my promise: and yet the whole army, of near two millions of men, mouldered away; Persia was stripped of its inhabitants, and its resources exhausted; and Greece, notwithstanding, maintained its independence. The army in America was a weight on the nation, as it could do nothing there for the public good, where the people were so firm in support of the new government; but if the troops were withdrawn, and sent upon an expedition against some part of the dominions of France, we should reap important advantages from their operation, even towards the
reduction

reduction of America, which he contended was not to be conquered but in France. He positively charged administration with having sown divisions in the fleet, by bringing a prosecution against a man they knew to be innocent, on a charge the most frivolous and unjust. While he was up, he said, he could not help adverting to what had fallen from the noble Lord in a former debate; because it militated so improperly against the constitutional principles of this country, and by which he seemed to shelter himself behind the throne; throwing all blame from himself as minister, on the sovereign, as his master and director; and insinuating, what cannot constitutionally exist in this country, that the King was his own unadvised minister. He reprobated this language, as it precluded and concluded all debate. No member in that House could, after such an expression, charge the minister with any blunder, guilt, or inattention whatever, nor impeach any measure, however ruinous, dangerous and absurd.

Governor *Johnstone* said, he saw no difference between withdrawing the army, and acknowledging the independence of America; the consequences of such a step could not but be obvious to every gentleman: Nova-Scotia must be attacked, Newfoundland invaded, Florida over-run, and Canada become subject to the Congress: the West Indies could be of no use to us; as the trade from the islands being obliged to pass through the Gulph of Florida, for fear of the French at Cape Nicholas Mole, the Gibraltar of the West Indies, must be exposed to and destroyed by the American privateers, if we had no port or fleet there to protect it. Another reason for not withdrawing the army was, that the new governors of America, freed from an apprehension of the English, would turn their minds towards strengthening their government, which at present is rather in a tottering situation; for he would be bold to say, that the affections of the people had been greatly weaned from Congress, from the moment that body had altered the form of their new constitution; the abjuration oath imposed on all electors in the colonies was stretching a prerogative which the people had never imparted or sanctified; and so great was the discontent in the province of Pennsylvania, that out of 32,000 electors who voted for the first Congress, only six hundred and odd had taken the abjuration oath, to qualify them to vote for another Congress. In the province of New England, the whigs and tories were so nearly equal in the provincial assembly, that the whigs had only a majority of two; if the army, which was to support those who might avow their dislike of the ruling powers, was to be withdrawn, the

the dissatisfied, finding themselves abandoned by Great Britain, would submit to the armed tyranny of the Congress, which, by military force and fear, would establish their dominion so firmly over the continent, that nothing afterwards could shake it. The reduction of America, he maintained, had never been impracticable; and the force sent out to effect it had been equal to the undertaking, if it had been properly managed. He did not know to whom he should attribute the planning of the southern expedition, whether to the minister or the general; but to that expedition, and the evacuation afterwards of Philadelphia, he set down the ruin of General Burgoyne's army, and our failure of success. He differed too from that officer in the numbers of the enemy he had had to engage: previous to the affair of Bennington the numbers had been nearly equal; nor would he in all probability have had an army of 17,000 men to fight at Still Water, which brought on the Saratoga convention, if the rebels had not been encouraged by their success at Bennington, and by the news of the southern expedition, which freed them from their alarms. As to an invasion of France, the gentlemen then in the House who had been on the expedition against St. Cas, could best judge of the probability of success in such an undertaking. An invasion of the French West-Indies would be attended with little more success. Hispaniola was so strong that twenty thousand men could not possibly reduce it; the contest was now widely different from what it was with France in the beginning of the late war; for then we were entirely masters of the sea, whereas at present the dominion of that element was disputed by France. Upon the whole, he could not but give it as his opinion, that the war ought to be prosecuted in America; that it was not impossible to terminate it with success; that this country had resources sufficient for the purpose; and that to withdraw the forces from America was nothing else than giving up that independency for which we had been contending for so many years.

He agreed, he said, with the hon. gentleman, [General Burgoyne,] that no very sanguine hopes were to be entertained of success in the American war, whilst the present secretary had the direction of it. He could not, however, but do the noble Lord the justice to say, that the hon. general had but little ground of complaint against his Lordship, for his army had been most amply supplied with every thing necessary for the expedition. As Sir Henry Clinton was a favourite with the hon. general, he might rest assured, that no barbarities would be committed in America while that commander had the direction

rection of the army, and that no system of cruelty had been intended by the commissioners, when they published their proclamation, as that instrument seems to have been signed by Sir Henry Clinton, a man, in whom bravery and humanity are so blended, that it was difficult to determine for which virtue he was most conspicuous.

General *Burgoyne* admitted that, in that particular, the noble Lord had certainly done his duty. Sir Guy Carleton had punctually fulfilled his Lordship's orders, except in some instances, such as the Canadian supplies, which, from the nature of the service, and the circumstances of time, it had been impossible to furnish in the manner desired. All he meant to say against the American secretary was, that he had not given him a sufficient number of troops to fight what was then called a contemptible enemy; but which, to his disappointment, he had found most formidable; and his own army had never consisted of more than half the regular force, which it had been said in that House, he was at the head of, and which passed uncontradicted by the minister.

Lord *Howe* applauded the willingness of the noble Lord to meet an inquiry, relative to his share in the northern expedition; and hoped, that as the papers respecting that part of the service, in which himself and the late commander in chief were engaged, would certainly be moved for after the holidays, the noble Lord would be no less forward to stand an inquiry. It was proper that he should have this timely notice, that he might come thoroughly prepared, and not be taken unawares. He added, that the noble Lord at the head of the American department sometimes acted on his own account; for his Lordship had signed the order sent to New York, allowing the people there to fit out privateers and letters of marque, which tended to dismantle the fleet, and render it inferior to that of France. He had therefore every reason to hope, that the noble Lord would at least acknowledge himself to be the author of that measure.

Mr. *Fox*, in reply to Governor Johnstone, said, he never pointed at Old France, nor her East or West India possessions in particular; all he meant to say was, that it was impossible that in her wide extended dominions, France should be invulnerable in every part; where she was least so, was the business of administration to discover. One thing he would point out, and against which we should direct all our force, the navy of France: in the destruction of her marine we might see some hope of recovering America; but while our army remained in that country, we were to expect nothing from

from its operations. On the continent of Europe, it might be employed; there we might contend with France, in a manner that would make her feel that her own consequence was at stake. But the old whig system of alliances on the continent had been given up, and we were left to fight all our battles by ourselves. If these alliances were renewed, France might then be taught that rashness, not prudence, had made her enter into the American confederacy. America might then be considered as a mistress for whom France and England were contending, and was to be won by the bravest. America, he said, might be won in Europe, while England might be ruined in America.

He made some observations on the conduct of America, but would not give his opinion either way; for he was not now equally clear as last year, because, in the present state of our affairs, it would tend to sink our reputation, to make a tender of what would be treated with scorn and contempt. The French treaty had deprived us of the advantages, and acknowledgment of American independence might have brought after it. Upon the whole, he could not but condemn the folly of carrying on the war in America, with a smaller number of men, when a greater had failed to attain the desired object, that of American subjugation.

Sir *William Howe* strongly urged the necessity of an inquiry into his conduct. An hon. gentleman [Governor Johnstone] had asserted, that the southern expedition had been the chief cause of all the subsequent disasters; he hoped that the hon. gentleman would be one who would give his vote for an inquiry how that measure came to be adopted. Such an inquiry was an act of justice to the nation, and to the individuals concerned; and he took this opportunity of declaring his expectation, that an inquiry into the southern expedition would be one of the first subjects of public discussion, immediately after the Christmas recess.

Lord *George Germaine* rose in reply to what had fallen from the hon. gentleman who spoke last but one, [Mr. Fox,] and declared, however inadvertently or contrary to the order and rules of the House, he had mentioned a Great Personage; in a former debate, it was not his intention to sculk behind the throne, but fairly to come forward and stand forth responsible for his conduct: at the same time repeating what he said in the course of the debate alluded to, that whatever he had done, was with the advice and approbation of the other branches of administration.

He

He was sorry that the House should have indulged gentlemen with this licentiousness in debate, and permit them to deviate from the old parliamentary rules, never to mention what passed upon a former occasion. The reason of the rule was founded in good sense and justice ; because, if any thing improper was said, an explanation being immediately demanded, and the persons called to order, the matter being fresh in his memory, he would be at liberty either to acknowledge his error, or to explain his real meaning. Matters of this kind should never be deferred, because, when deferred to perhaps a distant day, the memory could not retain the precise words that had been spoken.

If he had said, that he transmitted orders he had received from his Majesty, he believed he added, that he had given his advice upon the dispatches before they were made out ; and of course, had made himself to a certain degree and intent responsible with others for that advice.

He was as ready to meet an inquiry, as either the noble Lord or late commander in chief, who both served in America ; but he did not mean to move for one, because he thought it would be indecent and improper in him to stand in the place of an accuser of others, when he had heard it so often alleged by some gentlemen in that House, that the failure of success in the American war was solely imputable to him ; but if any gentleman on either side of the House would make a motion for that purpose, he pledged himself to that House, and all the parties concerned, that it should meet with his hearty concurrence.

Mr. *Ellis* said, there was a magnanimity in this country, and sufficient resources to enable her, by a proper exertion of the one, and a proper application of the other, to extricate herself from all her difficulties, and to put an honourable termination to a war founded upon the strongest necessity ; a war which could no otherwise be concluded, with any prospect of regard to the reputation and interest of Great Britain, than by vigorously opposing the united powers of the rebellious Americans, and the treacherous French. Much had been said about withdrawing the army from America. Some gentlemen were for it, but he was not. Much had also been said about acknowledging the independence of America ; and even this measure had its advocates ; but he was not one of them. He would never acknowledge the independence ; and he thought the first measure included the last, which was his great objection to it. To acknowledge the independence of America,

America, however palliated by expressions of prudence and policy, was, in his opinion, weak, disgraceful, and dangerous.

Mr. *Burrell* said, he was far from acknowledging, even were the fact true, that because a large army, ill-managed, had failed to conquer America when in her powerful state, that a less force, well-directed, might not be successful when America was much weakened. He said, that the two propositions of withdrawing our fleets and armies, or acknowledging the independency of America, were in effect the same. And after having contended that the pressure of political affairs required the greatest exertions that this country was able to make, adverted to what had been said, in the course of the debate, relative to the court-martial ordered to be held on the conduct of Admiral Keppel; declaring, he should be as willing as any other gentleman to join in an address to his Majesty, to bestow every mark of honour on the conduct of the honourable admiral, whose reputation was deservedly great; but that the charge alledged against him was of so serious a nature, that attempting to interfere, and to take the business out of the hands in which it was at present placed, might rather tend to prejudice the admiral's fame; and, by depriving him of the opportunity of proving his innocence, confirm that stigma, which it was so much his interest, and he was sure so much the object of his heart, to remove in the most effectual manner.

Mr. *Burke* declared that the hon. gentleman who spoke last but one, had addressed himself chiefly to the passions of the House; this he thought a very improper moment for such an address; he wished to speak to the good sense and reason of those who heard him. It was an easy thing, and to the ears of most Englishmen, a very satisfactory one, to boast of the magnanimity and the spirit of this country. Such arguments caught the passions, and while they proved nothing, tended to lead astray the judgment and bewilder the senses. Until it was made evident to his understanding, that with thirty millions of debt, which we had incurred by the American war, we were richer than before, and until he was convinced that we could do more with a small force than we had been able to effect with a large army, the best appointed that the world had ever seen, he would not agree that this was a moment for us to adopt a pursuit of the same system which had put us in such peril, or to continue a war in America, where all our schemes of conquest had been defeated, and where so much of our treasure, and so much of our national force, had been sacrificed

and thrown away. He contended, that great as our resources might be, it was the certain way to exhaust them altogether, to apply them to the furtherance of a design, which experience ought long since to have taught us, it was impossible for us to accomplish.

With regard to avowing the independency of America, gentlemen looked at the position in a wrong point of view, and talked of it merely as a matter of choice, when in fact it was now become a matter of necessity. It was, in this latter light only that he regarded it, in this latter light only that he maintained that it was incumbent on Great Britain to acknowledge it directly. On the day that he first heard of the American states having claimed independency, it made him sick at heart; it struck him to the soul, because he saw it was a claim essentially injurious to this country, and a claim which Great Britain could never get rid of. Never! Never! Never! It was not therefore to be thought that he wished for the independency of America. Far from it. He felt it as a circumstance exceedingly detrimental to the fame, and exceedingly detrimental to the interest of his country. But when, by a wrong management of the cards, a gamester had lost much, it was right for him to make the most of the game as it then stood, and to take care that he did not lose more. This was our case at present, the stake already gone was material, but the very existence of our empire was more, and we were now madly putting that to the risque. The argument of the honourable gentleman was in other words this: "I have lost my Lincolnshire estate—I have lost my coal-mines in Northumberland, and my tin-mines in Cornwall, but I have still left Goose Common and a duck-decoy, and I have great magnanimity." It was exactly the language held by those who had gained the estates of minors by dice and hazard. "You lost your estate at the gaming table---Go there again; there it is that you must look for another estate!"

He adverted to what had fallen from Governor Johnstone, relative to the folly of giving up the independency of America, and the still remaining power of this country to conquer and recover her. The honourable gentleman had declared, that the majority of the people of America were still at heart the friends of this country; that they longed most ardently to avow their sentiments of loyalty, and return to their allegiance. The hon. gentleman had said further, that the Congress were not chosen by the united voices of the people of America; that they held their situation by force, and that their tyranny was intolerable; and the hon. gentleman had mentioned, that the
vote

vote of independency was carried by a majority of two only ; and that in the province of Pennsylvania where he was, there he was sure we had 30,000 friends. If these things were so, how happened it, that when we had at Philadelphia an army, the finest ever seen, of 18,000 men, to support the 30,000 provincials, who wished so well to Great Britain, that the 30,000 did not avow their loyalty to Great Britain, and did not deny the authority of the 600 tyrants who formed the monster called Congress, which held them in such oppressive subjection ; if 30,000 dare not oppose the usurped power of Congress, with such a powerful support at their back, was it likely that they should hereafter do it, when we were not in the heart of them ? The hon. gentleman had also said, that in Massachusetts Bay, which was originally the centre of opposition to Great Britain, as it was the head quarters of rebellion, the people were divided into powerful faction, equally conducive and promising to the interests of this country ; one party opposing Congress generally, and the other opposing Congress particularly, on account of the alliance they had made with France. Surely, if this had been as the hon. gentleman stated, his Majesty's commissioners would have been more successful. The proposals they had made were sufficiently humiliating on the part of Great Britain, sufficiently advantageous on the part of America.

After dwelling for some time on the argument he had been now commenting on, he turned to the subject of resource. Enterprize and spirit, he observed, were good qualities in the field, but bad ones in the cabinet. Prudence and a calm review of the financial powers of a country, were the first objects of a statesman. It was a mad appeal to the passions of a people, whose resources were visibly decaying, that would carry them through where almost every thing depended upon the real sinews of war---men and money. He proceeded to shew, that we had exhausted thirty millions in the progress of the war hitherto ; that we should have occasion for nine millions for the service of the ensuing year ; and that we had already voted a land-tax of four shillings in the pound. He compared this with the financial situation of France, introducing the conduct of Mons. Neckar, and the words of the edict lately registered by the Parliament of Paris ; from which it was evident, that France, to put her navy on a respectable footing, only wanted 800,000*l.* and that she could raise that sum with the greatest ease, and without imposing any new tax upon her subjects. He compared the different necessities of the two kingdoms, and the different objects of at-

tention, in the eyes of each, giving France the credit and advantage greatly, both in point of power and finance, and wisdom of application to her resources; deducing from his arguments on this point an inference, that by going on with the American war, we were actually endeavouring to invert the order of nature, to change France into an island, and to render Great Britain continental, by suffering the former to acquire a great naval strength, while we are establishing a large military force. In the course of his speech, he entered into an ample investigation of the propriety of America's joining with France, and contended, that in all ages and in all countries, it was perfectly natural for revolted subjects to form an alliance with that power known to be most inimical to the state, from whose supremacy they had withdrawn, and to whom the destruction of the interest of the former parent state was obviously a matter of desirable advantage; proving his arguments on this head, by enumerating from history a variety of instances in its support. He particularly mentioned the interference of Great Britain to preserve the Low Countries from falling into the hands of France, and to secure them to the house of Austria; and justified both France and America for their conduct in this respect, on the broad ground of policy; expressing his astonishment, that any set of men should be so weak as to talk either of the treachery of France or the ingratitude of America, when they considered that America took this step after she had been forced into independency; and that France acceded to it, when she saw that Great Britain had failed in her efforts to conquer the United States, and when she had such extensive and lucrative offers made her by the Americans, provided she would assist them in their endeavours to establish their independency.

He concluded, with urging ministers to attack France formidably; to vote, if they could procure the men, a still larger number than those moved for by the right hon. member; to employ them in any other service than against America.

Governor *Johnstone*, to explain, declared the honourable gentleman who spoke last had either mistaken or misrepresented what he had said. With regard to his assertion, that a great majority of the inhabitants of Pennsylvania and of New England were heartily tired of the tyranny of the Congress, and wished most ardently to shake off the yoke of their new masters, he repeated it, and was certain that it was a fact, not only known to himself, but to every gentleman who had been lately in America. He then proceeded to shew, that

the powers usurped by Congress were not legally granted them, even according to the new constitution of America; that the very articles of confederation, under which they assume this authority, to enter into treaties with foreign powers, were not recognized by the several provinces in their assemblies and conventions; and lastly, that the treaty with France was not to this hour ratified by the consent of those assemblies of the thirteen states, many of the inhabitants of each province holding it in utter detestation and abhorrence.

He concluded by giving it as his solemn and sincere opinion, that it would be folly in the extreme for Great Britain to admit the independency of America; that she was much weaker than she had been in preceding years of the war; and that there still remained hopes and a probability of subduing her, and re-uniting her to this country, provided we planned our measures wisely, and executed them with proper vigour, and with perfect unanimity; without which last, he made no scruple to pronounce, that all our efforts to subdue America, must necessarily prove ineffectual.

Lord *North* said, the hon. gentleman [Governor *Johnstone*] seemed to suppose two things, which were ill-founded, that the commissioners miscarried on account of the orders sent from home to evacuate Philadelphia; and that administration seemed desirous to throw blame upon the commissioners for not performing the objects committed to their care. To the first, he could answer, that the measure of evacuating Philadelphia was neither rash, hasty, or impolitic, but had been adopted upon good grounds, and upon full and mature deliberation, and he was confident would bear the test of the most rigorous examination. On the second charge, he would observe, that nothing ever fell from him, nor he believed from any of the King's confidential servants, which could tend in the least to justify the assertion. He had attended to the act, the objects of the commission, the powers delegated by it, and the instructions which accompanied them, and though he could not, informed as he was at present, directly affirm, or bind himself in future to say, that all the powers vested in the commissioners were strictly exercised and pursued, he could, as far as he knew, fairly declare, that no instance fell within his observation in which they had been departed from or neglected.

The same hon. gentleman, for he could not call him his honourable friend, had asserted that America was divided; that the authority and powers exercised by the Congress had

been grossly perverted and abused; and that, as yet, the treaty of alliance with France had never been ratified by the several legislative bodies, acting under the denomination of assemblies or conventions. He was perfectly satisfied of the truth of what had been thus asserted respecting that point; and such being the fact, he should argue upon it, in reply to whatever had been objected from the other side of the House, and the measures proposed to be substituted to those which he was about to submit to public consideration.

The measures he alluded to were, the declaring America independent, or instantly withdrawing our fleets and armies from it. Before he should give his reasons, he begged leave, he said, to observe, that they exactly met in the same point. Withdraw your armies, America is instantly independent. Declare her independent, and your fleets and armies remain there for no purpose. But allowing the conclusion, drawn by the advisers of the measure for withdrawing, and allowing likewise the main argument for withdrawing, that France and America are firmly knit together by treaty and alliance, what would be the probable consequences, but the actual loss of the possessions we have in that country, of those provinces which acknowledge our sovereignty, and prefer a connection with the parent state to any species of political union with their brethren? What would be the fate of New York, Rhode Island, of Canada, Florida, and Nova Scotia? Certainly to fall under the dominion of the revolted colonies, or be parcelled out, in certain proportions, between France and the revolters. But to pursue the idea the full length it could be considered, leave a sufficient defence for those places, and employ your force with spirit, vigour, and resolution, in both defending our own possessions in the sugar islands, and in making attacks upon those of France. Unless America were first brought to a sense of her duty, such a plan of hostility, though practicable in point of execution as to conquest, could never answer any purpose; for if France and the Colonies still continued allied, it would be impossible to protect our trade, or bring home the produce of either our own, or the conquered islands.

The estimates now voted, and the measures proposed to be engrafted upon them, brought the arguments of both sides of the House within a very narrow compass. He should take whatever had been acknowledged on the other side of the House, or what had not been contradicted, as so much fairly admitted; as the *data* from which every conclusion must be drawn. It was granted, that great differences and dissensions prevailed

prevailed in America; that the Congress had exceeded and abused their power; and that the political and hostile connection with France had not yet been constitutionally ratified; that is, it had not yet received that species of assent which was radically, fundamentally, and essentially necessary to constitute a real and binding compact on the people of America. It would likewise be allowed, he believed, that the people there were in the greatest distress, and were suffering under the most pressing calamities of war, domestic misery, and political oppression of the usurped powers of government. He appealed to every gentleman present, whether such a state of things, contrasted with the blessings of peace, accompanied with constitutional freedom and dependency, did not give the best founded and probable reasons to expect that the Colonies, either separately or conjunctly, would co-operate in measures for removing those public and private distresses, for getting rid of those oppressions, and dissolving such a system of usurpation and tyranny? If, then, on this indisputable view of the internal state of America the probabilities were strong, so strong as almost to amount to actual proofs, had not Great Britain every reason to expect, that with the assistance of her own strength, and her proposed vigorous exertions, the Colonies might be brought once more back into the bosom of the parent state?

Here his Lordship, in maintenance of his argument, presented a pleasing view of the strength and resources of this country, which he brought in counterview to that of America, whose finances were ruined; whose armies were daily crumbling to pieces; whose officers were disgusted; whose revenues were mortgaged, almost beyond the power of redemption; and whose government was administered in such a manner, as to create the execration of almost every man under it, whether he supported it upon principle, or by compulsion. His Lordship, as well from our native strength, as the weakness of our enemies, exhorted the House to firmness, steadiness and resolution; and contended, such was the ability of the nation, that we were fully equal to all the purposes of offensive and defensive war; and that having the means of vindicating our honour and asserting our rights against the attempts of both our domestic enemies and foreign foes, nothing remained to be done, but to employ those means vigorously, judiciously, and decisively.

This brought him to the next point, the general suggestions that the force could not be effectually employed, while our ablest officers, naval and military, were daily ill-treated

and disgraced. An hon. gentleman over the way [Mr. Fox] had, in the course of his speech, taken an opportunity of censuring administration for their conduct towards a naval commander high in his profession, [Admiral Keppel,] in supposing that the admiralty-board had acted in a partial, arbitrary and improper manner. Before he delivered his sentiments on the propriety of that conduct, he declared, that he by no means deemed himself responsible. He was not, nor could he be consulted upon it. The affair arose in another department, with which, in point of official business, he was totally unconnected. Whatever, therefore, may be the event of the measure, or the issue of the inquiry, he thus publicly laid in his claim not to be considered as any partaker in its consequences, whether to censure or approve. Within this reservation, however, he was free to declare; as a matter of opinion, that the admiralty-board were perfectly justifiable in what they did. A gentleman high in his profession, and of great personal reputation, goes to the admiralty-board and delivers in a charge, consisting of several specific articles, or distinct accusations, against his superior officer, for misconduct in the day of action. The hon. gentleman, when insinuations were thrown out, that the matter originated in a previous concert, and a design to ruin the character of the party accused, rose in his place in that House, and solemnly affirmed, and specifically pledged his honour, that he never communicated the most distant hint even of his intentions, till he delivered in his accusation in writing to the board. Under such circumstances of fact, as well in point of the nature and weight of the accusation, as the mode in which it was brought forward, it was impossible, in his opinion, that the board could reject the charge, and not proceed on it in the manner they had done. It would have been criminal, had they acted otherwise. They were bound to a faithful and punctual exercise of the powers vested in them by the act of parliament; if they had rejected, it would have been a denial of justice; and even granting that a latitude upon a particular occasion might be justifiable, he was certain, that the exercise of such a latitude as that contended for by those who censured the conduct of the admiralty-board, would lay a precedent in future that might be productive of evils which could not be balanced by any motives, however strong, which were urged against the inquiry.

On the general charge made, that nothing could succeed in the hands of the present ministers, he should always refuse to admit the truth of any proposition of the kind, while it was

was only supported by mere assertion. Several gentlemen had likewise called for an inquiry into the conduct of ministers; and some [including Lord and Sir William Howe, and General Burgoyne,] had pointed their censure directly at the noble Lord near him [Germaine] as the principal author of all our miscarriages and disappointments.

An inquiry into the conduct of ministers, no person in that House more ardently wished for; for he was conscious, whenever that event should happen, that it would be found he had discharged his duty to the best of his abilities. It had been insinuated more than once, in the course of the debate, that ministers recommended measures not their own; and that in the day of examination they would endeavour to shelter themselves, to screen and justify their conduct, by a certain great authority. He desired that those hon. gentlemen, and the House at large, might recollect, that he now disclaimed any such intention, or resorting to any such subterfuge. The measures pursued were his measures, in concert with the rest of the King's servants. He assisted in advising them, and looked upon himself responsible, in every possible view, as far as any minister can be responsible, for the measures he advises. If they were founded in propriety and justice, and sound policy, he expected to share the merit; if they were weak, wrong, and pernicious, he wished to be considered as liable to partake of the blame or censure attending them.

As to the personal attacks made on the noble Lord near him [Germaine] relative to the measures respecting the war, there, if censure were due, he laid his claim for part; they were measures of state, originating in the King's councils, and were of course no more the noble Lord's measures than his, or any other member of the cabinet: the crimes or faults, or errors committed there, were indivisible; they were imputable to the whole body, and not to a single individual who composed it.

Mr. Fox said, the noble Lord called loudly for proofs of whatever was asserted in argument; and yet he had been endeavouring to shew, that the conduct of the admiralty-board was perfectly justifiable in ordering his hon. relation to a court-martial; but forgot to adduce a single argument, or title of proof, in support of his opinion, unless mere round assertion was to supply the place of it. The noble Lord had, in his opinion, furnished the strongest argument imaginable for discontinuing the war in America. He would not enter into the detail of what was proper to be exactly done upon the occasion; but if the people of America, both in their subordinate legislatures,

legislatures, in lesser societies and descriptions, and collectively, were tired of the tyranny and oppressions they suffered, and were averse to a friendly, political connection with France, war appeared to him a most extraordinary mode of improving this disposition, for the purpose of promoting an union of affection, and mutual benefit and advantage. He reminded the noble Lord, that he had mis-stated his words; for he had not asserted that administration generally had sown dissensions among the officers employed in the public service, but that one of the executive branches of government had acted in that improper manner, he meant the board of admiralty; and he still maintained his former assertion, that the party-spirit which now so fatally raged in the navy, was fomented and encouraged by the conduct of that board. As the noble Lord in the blue ribbon had agreed to share the guilt with the secretary of the colonies, he was not a little amazed, he said, to hear him disown having any share in that of the first lord of the admiralty; it was a clear proof, however, of the treatment his noble relation met with, from the conduct of the first Lord not being perfectly approved of, when even the minister, who was so full of plausibility, and so ready with excuses at all times, for the grossest blunders of himself and his brethren in office, was put to the blush, and at a loss for a syllable to say in his defence, or to urge in palliation of the partiality, visible throughout the whole conduct of the admiralty-board, from the first moment the hon. admiral accepted of the command.

Sir William Meredith recommended the withdrawing the troops, or at least the not employing them in hostile operations against the colonies. He maintained that the withdrawing the troops, and the employing them in effective operations against the common enemy, were two propositions extremely different, if the assertions and information of the noble Lord were to have their intended weight; for it shewed plainly, that the people of the colonies, thus described, were no proper objects of national resentment, or of being coerced into submission by force of arms; but were intitled to our affection, not correction. These people had taken up arms to defend what they deemed their rights, the means used for the attainment of the object had been perverted for the purposes of inflicting similar oppressions to those they took arms to resist; in the mean time, offers little short of their original claims had been made to them by this country. Such being the present state of affairs, the option was now at hand, and, in his opinion, only one impediment stood in the way of their

their immediate embracing it. The prayer of the Congress, the united wishes of the people in the several precedent stages of the contest, before the declaration of independency was, put us into the situation we were in previous to the year 1763, that is all we desire. Instead therefore of carrying fire and desolation throughout the Colonies, and by that means uniting from principle and motives of self-preservation, both in the present moment and in future, come fairly and openly to an express declaration on the subject; repeal all the fatal acts passed since that period; and in the present presumed disposition of the people there can hardly be a probable doubt but that the Colonies will return to their former happy, prosperous, and envied situation, from anarchy, confusion, and the miseries and distresses concomitant to war and popular usurpation.

Lord *Mulgrave* now rose, and observed, from the intimacy which formerly subsisted between the hon. gentleman who spoke last and him, and which had never ceased, but was rather suspended by accidental circumstances arising from situation and other habits and pursuits, he had an opportunity of making a tolerable estimate of the abilities of his right hon. friend. Among other great talents which he possessed, both personal and properly senatorial; among his private and public virtues of every kind, he possessed one talent in a greater degree than any other person he ever knew; that was a most retentive, accurate and correct memory. Fully sensible of this, he could not say but he was much surprised to perceive, that the hon. gentleman sat down without taking notice of a matter, which he took the earliest opportunity of communicating to him, not long before the House proceeded to business. To open it fully to the House, he begged its indulgence. He begged leave to preface it by a few explanatory words.

In the debate on the 11th, the question relative to what powers were vested in the admiralty-board, to reject accusations against officers in the naval service, or direct trials upon such accusation, the hon. gentleman rose, and in order to prove that the admiralty-board was in such cases vested with a discretionary power, he related an instance in point which happened while he had the honour of a seat at that board. It was relative to a Captain Clements, a very deserving and able officer, who being accused by a person, the hon. gentleman took a very particular part in the transaction. He told the House that the first Lord was absent, that Mr. Keppel went away, and that Sir Charles Saunders refused to have

any

any thing to do with it ; that being thus left in a great measure alone, he took the determination upon himself, and rejected the complaint, for which he said emphatically, that when the whole was over, he received the thanks of the first Lord, and the rest of the gentlemen who were absent.

He confessed he was somewhat staggered ; he, for the reasons already given, was perfectly convinced of the great correctness and precision of the hon. gentleman's memory. He was equally satisfied of his candour, that he would not mis-state a fact, in order to answer the temporary purposes of debate ; and yet he had his doubts, none of which went to question the veracity or memory of the hon. gentleman ; but rather that, in his hurry and zeal, he might have been led to forget the material circumstances. He was, however, resolved no longer to remain in suspense. Upon looking over the books, he happily found the minute made by the board, which totally differed from the transaction as stated by the hon. gentleman.

He got two copies made of the minute, one of which (as he observed before,) he delivered to him since he came down to the House ; and this was the second instance in which he had reason to lament the want of memory of the hon. gentleman, in not speaking to the fact when he was up, which would have saved him the pain of submitting the copy of the minute to the House.

His Lordship then read the minute and the subsequent proceedings upon it. The minute stated, that an accusation was made against Captain Clements of the Pallas, by the master, for embezzling ship-stores, &c. that in consequence of this accusation, though Captain Clements was esteemed a brave and able officer, and the fellow who brought the complaint a man of infamous character, such was the sense of the board, that an order was issued for his immediate trial, and Admiral Holbourne, as senior flag officer at Portsmouth, and the thirteen captains ordered to compose the court-martial. Admiral Holbourne was a particular kind of man, who would have his own way. He did not proceed to inquiry, but gave an answer to the admiralty-board, turning solely on the characters of the accused and accuser. Captain Clements was not however contented, for though he was not tried, he insisted upon having his accuser put upon oath, and in that situation framed a set of questions which shewed that the charge was totally groundless and malicious ; for
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the actuser contradicted almost every syllable he answered to each particular head.

But even after this, the hon. gentleman did not dismiss the complaint, though it was got rid of; but by an ingenuity peculiar to himself, he discovered a clause in the act, which vested the navy-board with a power to inquire into any complaint relative to the embezzlement or purloining of naval stores: there the affair rested; so that on the whole of the transaction, the board never refused a court-martial; nor was the hon. gentleman entitled to the thanks of the first Lord, for dismissing the complaint, under the presumed authority of a discretionary power, because in fact, to this instant, the complaint was never officially or regularly dismissed.

He said, many insinuations had been thrown out against the noble Lord who presides at the admiralty-board, every one of which, he could prove, were as ungenerous as ill-founded. The vice-admiral himself had given the fullest testimony to the contrary; he could give no additional weight to that testimony, but besides answering for himself, that he was totally unapprized of the vice admiral's intention, he had the honour of the noble Lord [Sandwich] that morning assuring him, that he never heard a hint even of the vice-admiral's intention, till he saw in his official capacity the accusation in writing.

Ordering a speedy trial was urged by one or two gentlemen as a matter of hardship; he always thought the contrary, except in particular instances; and so far from being a hardship on the present occasion, he was certain that the hon. admiral himself would readily acknowledge, that he would have lost some of his most material witnesses, who were under sailing orders, if the holding the court-martial had been delayed but a few days longer than the time fixed.

He trusted that the admiralty-board, and every individual member who sat there, stood clear of any charge of malice or partiality; that the act was solely the vice-admiral's own act; and it remained with him to make good his accusation, or take the consequences of failing in his proofs, which he must know would turn out of a very serious nature.

Sir *William Meredith* made a short reply. He acknowledged that the noble Lord who spoke last had put a copy of the order for the trial of Captain Clements into his hands, as he had stated to the committee; but that he did not understand

derstand that the subject was at all connected with the estimates on the table, nor did he of course expect that it would be agitated that day.

What he had said on Friday last, he stated from memory, which might possibly deceive him, as the affair happened so many years ago; that however it struck the mind of an hon. admiral not then in his place [Keppel], exactly as it did him. He did not remember that the court-martial was ordered, but he could not assert whether it was or was not, as he was absent, on account of being ill, at Bristol; that what he said respecting his own conduct, referred only to what happened after his return to town.

He would at present say no more upon the subject. He must speak to Admiral Keppel upon it; but on Wednesday next, he would endeavour to gain further information, and give the House an explicit account of the matter.

Before he sat down, he observed, that what the noble Lord had stated relative to the conduct of the admiralty-board, in the case of Captain Clements, was a proof that admiralty-boards were far from infallible; and that a charge against them on the ground of error was not always ill-founded.

December 16.

Sir *Philip Jennings Clarke* begged to say a few words on the conduct of the other House, towards the members of this, when curiosity or business brought them thither. He observed, that a noble Earl [Radnor], towards the conclusion of the last session, had moved for erecting a gallery, in order to accommodate the members of this House; but that in the first instance the order had been disobeyed or neglected by the proper officer; and when attempted to be enforced, was rescinded by a motion of a noble Earl [Sandwich], upon the pretence of inconveniency. If that was a good plea, surely it might be fairly resorted to by this House, which on every full night suffered very great inconveniencies indeed, from the great number of persons, members of the other House, who came, and not only crowded the gallery, but filled the body of the House. This was extremely disagreeable; but notwithstanding that, a desire for harmony and mutual communication induced this House to submit to it; though, from the general conduct of the servants of the other, the members had great reason to complain, particularly on a late occasion, when the bar was cleared.

He had heard from one or two members in their places, that they had their pockets picked; and he was often present
when

when the members of this House were obliged to stand for hours together below the bar of the Peers, where they were crowded, squeezed, and liable to undergo every indignity and inconvenience, arising from being indiscriminately mixed with a mob. He said, such treatment was by no means suited to the dignity of one of the greatest assemblies in the world, and called loudly and particularly for redress; that is, if it was meant to keep a proper correspondence between both Houses.

After some further loose conversation of this kind, he gave notice, that instead of permitting the members of the other House to seat themselves in the body of this, he would move to have them admitted to no other seat but in the front gallery. It would be an admission, but it would be such an admission as would bear the nearest resemblance to that they now enjoyed at the other House.

Colonel *Onslow* said, such a conduct was unprecedented till very lately; that the dignity of this House ought to be preserved; that when it was a rule to exclude in one place, he thought it ought to be adopted in the other.

Sir *James Lowther* confirmed what had been generally asserted by both the preceding hon. gentlemen; but said, he thought that the want of politeness in the other House ought not to be copied by this. He observed, that Parliament would rise in a day or two; consequently, it was at present unnecessary to adopt a proposition which would come more seasonably after the Christmas recess. At that time a great deal of business would come under discussion, and full Houses might be expected. In that event, he was certain, the body of the House would hardly be sufficient to hold the members. This would of course call for some regulation, made on the ground of the hon. gentleman's proposed motion; but even then, he thought it would be every way more proper to permit the members of the other House to the side galleries as well as the front, and exclude them only from the body of the House, for the reasons already assigned.

Sir *Philip* rose a second time, and as, by what had fallen from the hon. gentleman, he understood, that a great deal of public business was expected to come on after the recess, moved, that the House be called over on Tuesday the 2d of February next. He did not mean to propose the manner of admitting the members, it was enough to him that the idea met the sense of the House.

Sir

Sir *Grey Cooper* acknowledged that there was a great deal of business to come before the House, and on that account wished that the call might be earlier.

Sir *Philip* proposed Thursday the 21st of January. But Sir *Grey* seeming desirous for rather a shorter day, the call of the House was finally fixed for Tuesday the 19th of January next.

Lord *Nugent* now rose, and after describing the inhabitants of his native country as suffering every species of misery and distress human nature was capable of bearing; a people, nine-tenths of whom laboured for fourpence a-day, whose food in summer was potatoes and butter-milk, and in winter potatoes and water, gave notice, that in consequence of what passed the last session, it was intended to propose to take off some of the restrictions of the trade of Ireland. He said, the people of Ireland expected some relief. That kingdom was oppressed and ruined; would emigrate to America; they would carry the woollen and linen manufactures thither; they would soon rival those of this country; in short, our restrictions would transfer the trade and manufactures of Ireland to America.

Among the other hardships suffered by the people in general, the landed part of them had their share. There was now an uninterrupted embargo, which still existed, on the exportation of the only staple commodities they had, beef and butter; the lands were fallen one-third in value, the graziers were become bankrupts, the full proof of which he experienced himself; for though he possessed a very considerable property, situated in different parts of the kingdom, he could pledge his honour, that he did not receive a shilling rent for the two last years; and the case was the same with several noble Lords and Gentlemen of his acquaintance.

It might become a question of a serious and difficult nature, what indulgence ought to be given, supposing that this country were inclined to recede. He believed the general ideas that prevailed last year would be proper to be again taken up. The woollen manufacture, to be sure, was in some measure sacred; but, in his present indigested ideas, all he could venture to specify was, a full exportation of all cotton goods, mixed and unmixed. His Lordship threw out several other hints; said, that the question would be, whether Ireland should have a little indulgence, or the Irish and the manufacturers of linen, woollen, &c. be transferred to America. It is true, Manchester might suffer, but a nation composed of a loyal, brave, though an oppressed people, was not to be sacrificed

crificed to one single town, or the monopoly of a particular district. He hoped, however, there would be no cause for rivalry. One thing on the whole was certain, that whatever benefited or enriched Ireland, or tended to give employment to her wretched inhabitants, would be beneficially felt in this kingdom, to whom, as the center, every advantage Ireland experienced Great Britain must profit by.

Lord *Beauchamp* confirmed the greater part of the noble Lord's arguments, painted the distresses of the Irish in lively colours, and gave the House to understand, that a general exportation, except in the article of woollens, was expected or meant to be procured.

Lord *Newhaven* said, that he would move for a general exportation, woollens excepted; and an importation of several commodities enumerated in the course of the last session.

Right Hon. Sir *William Meredith* began with claiming the attention of the House for a few minutes. In what he had dropped on a former occasion, relative to the affair of Captain Clements, he was happy to find, that, in principle and substance, he was right, though in one circumstance he had been erroneous. What he said occurred on the sudden to his memory, thirteen years after the event. But he would now state fully what the case was. Captain Clements was accused of having embezzled his ship's stores, by an inferior officer whom he had broke. The man's name was Hutchins. Lord Egmont (then first Lord), without any previous intimation, or attending himself, sent an order for a court-martial to be signed at the board, as a matter of course. Sir William was then at Bristol. Captain Clements was educated by Admiral Keppel, and by his noble behaviour had proved himself worthy of such a patron. Sir Charles Saunders and Admiral Keppel were extremely shocked, both at the attack on their gallant friend, and the indecency of ordering a trial without consulting them. But, as their interposition might have been construed into partiality, they let the order go without saying a word. The order for a court-martial was directed to Admiral Holbourn, who refused to try him. In this state of the business Sir William came to town; he found that the admirals who sat at the board held the whole proceeding in execration, and that many officers of the navy were exceedingly offended. But Lord Egmont arraigned Admiral Holbourn severely for disobedience, and proposed a new order for the trial of Captain Clements. Sir Charles Saunders and Admiral Keppel still declining to interfere, he undertook the defence of Admiral Holbourn, and to oppose the

order for a new trial. Lord Egmont then took the Attorney General's opinion, which was, that the order to try Captain Clements was against law. But, unaccountable as it seemed, Lord Egmont had taken it into his head to try Captain Clements at all events; and, without consulting the board of admiralty, ordered the navy to take Hutchins' evidence upon oath, and then laid it before the board of admiralty, in order for a court of inquiry to sit on Captain Clements, as he could not be tried by a court-martial. This order Sir William likewise opposed, it lay some time in suspense, till Lord Egmont finding he had already given offence, and that the business could not proceed without great scandal, gave it up, and owned himself obliged to Sir William Meredith, for stopping so disgraceful an attack on the character of so distinguished an officer as Captain Clements. The precedent therefore appeared much stronger than he at first stated it. The first Lord of the admiralty had hastily, and without deliberation, ordered a court-martial unjustly and lawlessly. When the same matter came to open discussion and fair deliberation, the board of admiralty had refused both to re-order the court-martial, which was against law, or to permit a court of inquiry, which they might have done by law, in the case of a delinquent inferior officer bringing a specific, positive charge against his own commander.

The noble Lord had dwelt and insisted much on a stream of precedents against the discretionary power. If a stream was a proper simile on the occasion, he could not think but that it was a very extraordinary kind of stream, which flowed towards its own source, instead of the sea. He was pretty well satisfied that such was the stream the noble Lord pretended to have in motion; it was a stream which flowed for the first time in this channel; for it was the first instance known, where the party accused was permitted to become the accuser, till his own innocence was first made manifest.

Lord *Mulgrave* made a short speech in reply. He said he never meant to do more than charge the honourable gentleman with inaccuracy in point of recollection; and he left it to the judgment of the House, how far his charge was well founded.

The House then resolved itself into a committee of supply, Mr. Ord in the chair, when Mr. *Buller* moved that the sum of 379,000*l.* and a fraction, be granted for the ordinaries of the navy.

Hon. *Temple Luttrell* intreated the House to attend to the enormous expences now brought on the nation by the excessive,

cessive, lavish, wanton, or ignorant disbursements of the board. It could hardly be conceived what waste, folly, and extravagance have crept into and governs in every department. The extraordinaries of the navy are now three times as much as they were in any year of the last war, and they are brought before the House in a gross, unattested, and vague form, leaving the House totally uncertain of its application, ignorant of its propriety, and knowing nothing but that so much money is paid into their hands. The present account, like all the former ones, since the late Lord Anson's time, are full of ambiguity, error, and extravagance. The charge of 6000*l.* was made in the last year's accounts for repairing the Marlborough, a seventy-four-gun ship; and it was at that time asserted, that with that sum she would be completely ready by the end of January 1779. To his no great surprize, however (because it is very common in the accounts of the present board), he saw in the estimates of the present year a further sum demanded of 7500*l.* for repairing the same ship, and now they are perfectly silent about the time when she will be ready. The year before they knew the time, but now, when that time is nearly arrived, they are totally ignorant when she will be ready. In the same manner the sum of 9000*l.* was charged to give a middle repair to the Hero, another third rate, which was to be completed by the end of the year 1779; but now a further sum of 18,900*l.* is required for the same ship, and not a syllable is stated of the time of her completion. It is worth while remarking that the Hero was built for 28,000*l.* a less sum by 900*l.* than what we pay for repairing her. So also is the Arrogant charged, and has been for many years past. The Arrogant seems to be the favourite of the admiralty, since they have expended three times as much in repairing as would have rebuilt her. Not one of the ships that they have repaired is worth one half of the money that they have cost the nation.

When Lord Hawke went out of office, he left 81 ships of the line fit for immediate service. Since his time, so much money has been paid by the nation to the use of the navy, that if these 81 ships had been burnt when Lord Hawke went out of office, they now ought to have a greater fleet than there was at that time. They ought to have built an hundred ships of the line, and an hundred frigates, for the money we have voted. An hundred seventy-four gun ships, at 29,000*l.* per ship, is 2,900,000*l.* and an hundred frigates at 10,000*l.* is 1,000,000*l.* - We have voted them more than 4,000,000*l.* and yet they have not now eighty-one ships fit for

service. He was happy to find that they had at last thought fit to build ships in the merchants yards. The difference in the expence was greatly in our favour. He again endeavoured to bring to the recollection of the House the sum embezzled in the year 1772, and said that the vouchers, if any there were, might have been produced in a nut-shell, instead of the waggon mentioned by a right honourable gentleman [Mr. Ellis] the other evening, as necessary for that purpose.

Mr. *Welbore Ellis* replied, that when money was wanted for repairs, it was usual to put down the name of any one ship in the estimate, and to apply the money voted by Parliament to the finishing such ships as could soonest be got ready for sea; that therefore, though the estimate was in some sort fallacious, the public were done strict justice to.

Mr. *Luttrell* condemned this mode, as full of impositions, and capable of opening the way to the committing every species of fraud. Why put ships in the estimate, when no repair is intended; and if the ship which wants least repair is first put in hand, why not put her in the estimate? For instance, if one ship is known to want a repair of 5000l. and another three times the sum, surely it would be the easiest thing imaginable to put those only in the estimate which must be repaired, and omit those which never may.

Mr. *Buller* said, it was impossible to know what ships would be first repaired till they were stripped. A ship when first brought into dock may seem to want but a slight repair; but when she is stripped and examined, she might be found to want a very full one.

The first resolution having passed, Mr. *Buller* rose again, and moved, that 569,000l. and a fraction, be voted for the extraordinaries of the navy, for the service of the year 1799, which was agreed to.

The Speaker having taken the chair,

Admiral *Pigot* rose, and spoke very humanely on the bad state of health under which Admiral *Keppel* had for some time laboured. He said it had alarmed his friends extremely, but that his anxiety and wish to serve his country had prevailed over every other consideration, and had induced him to leave his chamber, to take upon him the command of the fleet in the moment of public danger. That now, by a most unaccountable change of affairs, that officer, who put his health and character to the hazard, for the sake of saving his country, would be obliged, in a very short time, to hold up his hand as a criminal, and to stand his trial for his life. Having

ing very emphatically described this reverse of fortune, he adverted to the nature of a court-martial held on board a ship, and shewed, that from the extreme heat occasioned by so many persons being confined so long in one cabin, from the unwholesome damp which their breaths gave rise to, and from the dangerous circumstance of going in an open boat from the ship to the shore during the sitting of the court-martial (which most probably would continue six or seven weeks), that the Admiral, though his health was better now than it had lately been, would run the risk of his life, especially when it was considered that the trial would unavoidably take place in the severest season of the year. As the life of so worthy an officer as Admiral Keppel was of great consequence to the public, and as that House could not shew him too much attention, he therefore moved for leave to bring in a bill "to enable the Lord High Admiral of Great Britain, or the commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral, for the time being, to appoint courts-martial to be held on officers either on board ship or at some convenient place on shore, as to them should appear necessary and expedient."

Lord *Howe* said, every thing that House could do in favour of Admiral Keppel, provided they did not injure his honour by their proceedings, was incumbent on them. His Lordship seconded the motion; but doubted whether there was time sufficient to pass the bill before the adjournment of the Christmas holidays.

Mr. *Montagu* said, there were precedents of a bill being brought in, read a first and second time, committed, and read a third time, all in one day.

Lord *North* said, he had no objection to a bill specially applying to the case of the Hon. Admiral, at least he should not oppose the bringing of it in; but he never would consent that the subsisting law should be changed on light grounds, or in a hurry.

Mr. *Ord*, chairman of the committee of supply, brought up the resolutions passed the preceding day, which were agreed to, till the resolution relative to the ordnance came to be read, when

Lord *Newhaven* put a variety of questions to the gentlemen belonging to the board of ordnance, upon the different heads of their estimates for the service of the ensuing year; each of which he contended considerably exceeded the expence of past years, after allowing properly for the exceeding of the quantity of each article.

Sir Charles Cocks and Sir Charles Frederick rose alternately, and answered these interrogatories with great candour, till at length

Colonel Barré said, that it would be endless for the House to sit and hear a perpetual conversation, consisting merely of questions and answers: he commended the industry of the noble Lord, but declared, that it would be scarcely possible to do the business in a committee, if it were conducted in such a manner.

The Speaker supported the Colonel.

Lord Newhaven then proceeded to state the particulars of the estimates which he objected to, and declared he should be under the necessity of moving for a recommitment of the resolution relative to the ordnance.

General Conway said a few words relative to the character of Colonel Desaguliers, who was at present inspector of the ordnance, and asserted, that he was not only a man of strict worth and integrity, but a very ingenious engineer, having made several useful and important discoveries in the practical part of that branch of science, particularly in boring of cannon, and in various constructions of guns, mortars, &c. applicable to various uses.

Right hon. T. Townshend said, as he considered the report the same thing as an adjourned debate, he should give his sentiments respecting what had fallen the preceding day in the committee from the noble Lord in the blue ribbon.

The noble Lord had declared himself in the strongest and most explicit terms in favour of the American war. He had warmly urged the propriety of making the most vigorous exertions against the common enemy, by voting a military force, amounting in the whole to one hundred and sixty thousand men.

His principal motive for now troubling the House was, to put the noble Lord in mind of his declarations, and to proceed to the consequences deducible from them. He should not be surprised, however, if the noble Lord should recede from every syllable he had said, or qualify or explain his words in such a manner as to give them totally a different meaning.

The noble Lord, as the foundation, the corner stone of all his measures, tells you, that America is divided, that she is fifty millions in debt, that her armies are almost annihilated, that her people are starving, and are suffering under the very worst species of political oppression and usurpation that ever
any

any country felt. This is the invitation to success, and the motives for urging the prosecution of the American war. But is this the old story vamped up in another form, or is it the effect of a mere heated imagination? The noble Lord has frequently amused himself and his auditors with informations at second hand, and confident predictions, exactly resembling the present. How often has his Lordship held forth in this House, with all the oratory for which he is so justly distinguished, in describing the people of America as weak and divided, as hating their governors, and only acting under the dominion of force and compulsion? How often has his Lordship painted their distresses in all that glow which is natural to a warm imagination? How often has he described them as covered with a blanket, held together round their naked carcasses by a skewer only? What pictures of their famished bodies and meagre countenances, and all that woe and misery which "bespeak a variety of wretchedness;" of their want of all kinds of provisions, even of salt; of being totally destitute of all kinds of naval and military stores, of guns, powder, ball or bayonets; of all apparel or furniture for ships destined for trade or war. Pleased, but astonished, how often has this House caught with joy the important and joyful tidings? But lo! how often, on the other hand, have we been awakened out of those deceitful and unwholesome slumbers, into which, I presume, the noble Lord undesignedly lulled us? What has been the consequence? We found that the people, instead of being divided, were united; we found that those naked rebels had cloaths, victuals, powder, ball, ship furniture, &c. We found, not only that they possessed them, but possessed them in great quantities. The London Gazette, that repository of truth, informed us, at least, that the noble Lord was misinformed: for besides the returns of the killed and wounded, some little proof, it was generally closed with a return of stores of all kinds, provisions, powder, ball, guns, mortars, &c. &c. so that whatever truth may be in the conjectures of the noble Lord, I would just remind him, that they can be entitled to no great weight in this House, and that any measures founded upon them must rest upon a very doubtful and precarious support.

The noble Lord has told us, that exertions are to be made against France as well as America. Are the French West India Islands to be attacked? No, says the noble Lord, to what purpose? though we should conquer them, we could never bring home the produce without having ports in Ame-

rica, which cannot be the case if our troops be withdrawn : is it intended to make any more debarkations on the coast of France, and spread the war alarm? No, says the noble Lord, no more St. Cas affairs. Shall we remove the seat of war to the continent of Europe, in order to draw the attention of France from her marine? No, says the noble Lord, we should never bring the contest to the continent of Europe. Whenever we entered into measures of that kind, we were forced to it. We were dragged into the continental dispute. Have we any alliances? Not any, says his Lordship, we ought to have no allies; alliances can only be of service in matters properly respecting the interests of Europe. This is a dispute with France respecting our colonies, and does not in the least concern the powers of Europe. No, no, no alliances, subsidies, or European continental wars. The noble Lord said we had sixty thousand men for the home defence; and that was fully sufficient both for our immediate protection, and to awe our enemies. He would recommend to the noble Lord, if not serious in any other matter, that he would keep that object steadily in view, and not strip the kingdom, and trust all to the hazardous event of the success of the American war. If sixty thousand men were kept at home, if the other several defensive and offensive services were to be attended to, it fairly amounted to this, that France was to be fought in America; but in what manner was more than he could tell. The whole effective force in America did not at present exceed sixteen thousand men, with thirty thousand under orders; the filling up the deficiencies in the defective corps was all that was said to be intended, and could not amount to any very considerable force. What then, in the name of God, was intended? He feared ministers, when the force was once voted, would dispose of it as they pleased; be that as it might, there was one thing the minister could neither evade nor explain, that was, his declared responsibility for all the measures he advised, relative to the principle and conduct of the American war.

He said, he was very sorry that there was not a separate day allotted for voting the ordnance estimates, and for taking the many monstrous items, of which it was composed, into consideration; but it seemed the nation was rich as well as powerful. The House, it was true, did not seem willing to hear much detail, but if the noble Lord objected to several of the articles, the proper mode of proceeding would be, either to move to have the particular resolutions objected to recommitted,

recommitted, or to appoint a committee, and order them to report their opinion thereon to the House. He then remarked on the language used by ministers the preceding day, who declared for a negative war; this was not to be done; that was not to be done; but America was to be subdued by the point of the sword, aided by her intestine divisions. But as they had replied negatively, in every other instance, and had affirmed nothing positively, but the continuance of the American war, why did they not state the means of carrying it on with success? The army in America, he observed, was so weakened by detachments, that it would scarcely be able to act on the defensive. If we could spare the veteran regiments from the home defence, they would not arrive in time. He lamented that the same insatiation, the same delusion, still continued; our inferiority to France, either in Europe or America, must be inevitable. He concluded his speech in nearly the following emphatic sentence: I wish to God the noble Lord would rise in his place, and disavow all that he has said on the subject in his usual manner of disavowing on the report what he advances in the committee; and give us some reason to hope, that the old Whig measure of forming continental connexions, and pushing a continental war, is not determined to be never again revived.

Lord *North* replied, and declared the honourable gentleman had exceedingly misconceived what he had said the preceding day in the committee. He never had disclaimed continental connexions; on the contrary, he had held a very different language. He said, that the ambition of France had carried us to the continent last war; that we were in arms there to repress the attempts of the house of Bourbon to grasp at an inordinate possession, and in order to preserve the balance of power. He had never said that it would be wrong to attack France at home, but he was free to repeat, that he thought it highly impolitic to withdraw our fleets and armies from America, merely to attack France at present. That it would, in his idea, be folly in the extreme to leave America to herself just at this juncture. That of necessity Nova-Scotia, Canada, New-York, Rhode-Island, and Florida must fall, if we withdraw our fleets and armies from the other side of the Atlantic.

Col. *Barré* considered the estimates, he said, in a serious light. They amounted to the sum of 917,373*l.* and that in the fourth year of a war against America; a sum equal to the expence of the ordnance in the three first years of the last

last war, 1756, 1757, 1758; equal to that of the years 1759 and 1760, the fourth and fifth years of that war; equal to the year 1761, the sixth and glorious year of that war; and not much inferior to 1762 of that war, when we made our greatest exertion. Now these facts proved either a waste of public money, or an incapacity in its application. He saw 84,000*l.* charged for camp-equipage, ammunition, and ordnance stores, in England, for the last summer. This too astonished him, since, in the memorable period of 1745, when an insurrection was in the country, and when more and greater armies were embodied, he saw that the expence of the camp stores, ammunition, artillery, horses, &c. was but 30,000*l.* and the extras of the year but twenty-five thousand pounds, a sum not much more than half the present charge; it might reasonably be expected, after such enormous sums had been charged for ammunition, that, at least, we should have sufficient to supply our demands; but he was particularly surpris'd, when he heard that there were short allowances in some of our garrisons. He had heard it, he said, and that from authority which he believed, that, in the late attack on Rhode-Island, General Pigot had been forced to slacken his fire for want of powder, not having in the garrison more than eight days ammunition. These, and many other circumstances, concurred to persuade him that very little care was taken in this, as in every other office under government, of the expenditure of the public money.

Sir *Charles Cocks* said, that Rhode-Island was not supplied directly by the board of ordnance.

Lord *North* protested it was the first he ever heard of the want of powder at Rhode-Island.

Sir *William Howe* said, he had not heard that there was any want of powder; yet, if there had, as there was no attack expected, and the garrison had a hundred rounds a man, each for eight days, he thought, under these circumstances, the garrison had been amply supplied.

Sir *John Wrottesley* said, he was by no means for withdrawing the fleet and army from America; but, he contended, we were not able to carry on the war there offensively.—He begged to know if ministers had taken the advice of military men, and had been properly instructed, that this country was defensible by the force which was meant to be retained in it for its security?—He maintained, that if the 14,000 men which, by the resolution in the Committee of the preceding day, as chiefly intended for the reinforcement of Sir Henry Clinton, should even join him in due time, his army would, nevertheless

nevertheless, be weaker than it was previous to the opening of the campaign in 1778.

He then enumerated the several detachments which had been made, since the close of the campaign, from Sir Henry Clinton's army, for the different services: 3000, he understood, were intended for the Carolinas, to favour an insurrection ready to break out there against the usurped powers; 5000 for the protection of the West Indies; 2000 for Halifax, and a detachment, consisting of two battalions of Anspach, to augment the force at Rhode-Island: till, therefore, the new levies went out, our grand army must be obliged to act on the defensive; as the whole force, for every kind of miscellaneous service, including the defence and protection of New-York, Staten-Island, Long-Island, &c. would not, even with the assistance of the provincials, amount to 14,000 effective men.

He observed, that the ostensible reason for evacuating Philadelphia was, that our posts were too many, our troops too much detached on various services, to be timely collected for any effective operations, either defensive or offensive. He believed, nay, he was in some measure himself a witness to the truth of the observation; for, in his opinion, the chain of communication was too far extended, which was the chief reason why the war, to persons at a distance, seemed to languish. By the new measures now pursuing, the same error was adopted, and was meant to be carried to a much greater extreme; the inevitable consequence of which would be, that, at some future period, though we should gain some footing in Carolina, we should be obliged to abandon it, as we had Philadelphia.

He gave a minute professional description of the retreat of Sir Henry Clinton from the last mentioned place; and proved, in a very satisfactory manner, the extreme inconvenience of a long march, unless the army had a river, either on its right or left flank, or in its rear. He paid very high compliments to the conduct of Sir William Howe, from his landing at the head of the Elk, till his taking possession of Philadelphia; which he called a glorious march, and worthy of the highest encomiums.

He said it was imputed to him as a crime, that he had joined opposition, because he had voted against the address, and said something expressing a disapprobation of an offensive war in America; or rather the impracticability of subduing the revolted colonies, with such a force as we are able to spare with safety to the home-defence. He declared, he had for
nine

nine years voted uniformly with administration, because he thought they acted right; that whenever he thought so again, he should again give them his support: but while he thought them not entitled to it, he should certainly oppose them, on the same principle he supported them, a conformity to a strict adherence to what he deemed his duty.

He could not help taking notice of a particular circumstance, the subject indeed led to it, which was, in a very few days after he voted against the address, his receiving orders to return to his regiment in America. He hoped the mandate did not arise from any thing offensive in his parliamentary conduct; because, if it did, he despised the man who could have recourse to such superlative meanness, so pitiful and feminine a revenge, as much as he did the measure itself.

General Conway said, the House was no stranger to his opinion on the subject of the American war, in its precedent stages; he deprecated its dire effects. But he could not perceive how it was possible, in the present state of that country, allied with France, and acting against us, not so much for her own independency, as for our destruction, without the most dangerous consequences. As to the expediency or in expediency of continuing the war, he thought that subject deserved the most serious attention, and ought to have a particular day allotted for taking it into consideration, and that upon the most broad and comprehensive ground: but at present, standing, as we did, in a state of open hostility, he could not possibly reconcile the conduct of those gentlemen who voted for the estimates, and at the same time recommended the withdrawing the troops.

Lord North, in reply to Sir John Wrottesley, said he never heard that the expedition to the Carolinas was a measure actually resolved upon; and presumed, that the good sense of the commander in chief would not permit him to make any detachments, which might render the army under his command incapable of taking every advantage times and circumstances might permit, in giving the necessary protection to the loyal part of his Majesty's subjects in America, or from improving such favourable events as might fall out, between the present period, and the season proper for more vigorous operations. He assured the honourable gentleman, that the intimation now given, of his having gone over to opposition, was the first he received; and he was certain that the honourable gentleman was mistaken in his conclusion, that the order he received to join his regiment originated from the cause he was pleased to assign, his conduct or vote in Parliament.

liament. He was persuaded that no member of administration, or administration collectively taken, would have acted in so improper and unbecoming a manner; which, if they could be capable of, would fully justify those sentiments expressed by the honourable gentleman. As he was totally a stranger to the whole transaction of the presumed cause, as well as effect, he could not directly account for the order, but on the supposition that it was officially issued, in conformity to the routine of regimental duty in the guards, in which corps, he understood, the honourable officer served. He was sorry to have lost his support, as he always thought the approbation of his measures an honour; and should always think so, if, on any future occasion, they should again meet with his support.

Sir *John Wrottesley* rose again, and observed, that never was there a time when public œconomy became more an object of general as well as particular policy, than the present; when we were engaged in a war with a most potent and inveterate enemy, and were to contend, besides, with a third of our own subjects. He could not, therefore, but be greatly alarmed, when he saw a charge, in the American staff, of nearly 12,000*l.* *per annum* for deputy commissaries; though, when he left New-York, they had scarcely any employment; or, if there was any, the commissariate first established would be fully equal to the execution of it. When, indeed, the army was parcelled out; when various posts were maintained; when the grand army was at Philadelphia, detachments and posts in the Jerseys, a considerable body at New-York, and various expeditions on foot, there might be some pretext for deputies or supernumeraries; but when the army was chiefly confined to New-York and Rhode-Island, he thought, to keep up so expensive an establishment was a most shameful waste of public money. By what he could learn, there were no less than nineteen deputies, at the expence of thirty shillings a day each; though Mr. Wier, the commissary-general himself, assured him, that one half of the number were fully equal to transact the whole business.

Lord *North* said, that the deputy-commissaries were not appointed at home, nor was the impropriety of this new establishment at all imputable to administration. Mr. Wier, the commissary-general, who had served in Germany with the commander in chief [Sir William Howe], was appointed in compliment to the latter. Administration could have no job to carry; nor, when the situation of Mr. Wier was considered, could it possibly be supposed that they intended it, or any thing,

thing, but to gratify the commander in chief, to whom, it was understood, such an appointment would be extremely agreeable. If, therefore, in consequence of that appointment, the multiplicity of business which followed, or any other cause, the staff in America came to be loaded, he hoped and expected, if there was any cause of complaint, that no part of it would be laid upon administration, who were, in this instance, totally blameless.

Sir *William Howe* said, that finding that Lord North rested, with a particular emphasis, on the circumstance of the appointment of Mr. Wier, on his request, or as its having been known that such an appointment would be extremely agreeable to him, he seemed somewhat embarrassed. He understood, he said, that gentleman was coming home; and he doubted not, from his known conduct and character, he would be able to justify every thing he had done as commissary-general; and, now he was up, he would say a word or two of what fell within his own knowledge. He was never aware that the number of deputies was larger than was requisite, to leave some with so much of the army as remained in any particular town, either Philadelphia or New-York, for example, and to dispatch some with the other part of the army sent elsewhere, as occasion might require. He added, that if his memory failed him not, their pay was ten shillings a-day, and not thirty.

General *Burgoyne* rose next, and pressed the augmentation of the regiments at Saratoga, and the employment of the officers; the General acknowledged he had his resentment against particular ministers, but protested he was not on the present occasion influenced by those resentments, or by any wish to oppose government, but his anxiety to relieve and gratify the wishes of those who had so bravely served under his command. There were above thirty officers, of different ranks, who were made prisoners under the convention at Saratoga, now in this kingdom, some on their parole, and others that had been exchanged soon after the convention was signed, among whom were two or three field officers. He thought it would be extremely improper and ungenerous to permit them to remain inactive, useless, and neglected at home, instead of employing them in the service of their country. And though, at present, there was no immediate prospect that the recruits would join their respective corps, the officers would be rendered of that kind of service which now only remained in their power, that of strengthening the general defence, by recruiting and disciplining a body of men which might here-
after

after be wanted. Besides this, he thought that it would be treating the colonels of the respective regiments now at Boston very unhandfomely, as such a distinction would preclude them from receiving the advantages that would be enjoyed by every other colonel in the service.

Mr. *Jenkinson* said, that the first idea taken up on the subject, and which he had explained the preceding day, in the committee, was, that the nation would have been put to an unnecessary expence, to no manner of purpose, as the men recruited would neither join their own regiments nor any other, according to the plan of the present augmentation. This was the only motive for omitting the corps detained under the convention of Saratoga; but the reasons now urged by the honourable gentleman had in part altered his opinion; and if it was the sense of the House, and could be rendered agreeable to the established rules of service, he had no possible objection. At present, nothing could be done in it, without re-committing the resolution, which would be inconvenient; but care should be taken, on some future day, to render the matter agreeable to the ideas thrown out by the honourable gentleman.

Colonel *Barré* complimented General Burgoyne on his so often standing up the advocate of those brave fellows who had served under him in America: he said it did him the highest honour; and it also reflected credit on the honourable gentleman [Mr. *Jenkinson*] who had consented to employ the officers. The colonel then declared, that as the House was so thin, and he saw the members were anxious to depart, he would conclude with advising that House, on a future day, to change the nature of the service, to extend the bounty from the sailors to the soldiers, by emancipating the latter from slavery, and no longer to continue them for life in the army, but to limit the time of their being obliged to serve. By this alteration, he said, the army would be much easier recruited than before, and that we should then have no want of soldiers on any occasion.

December 17.

Admiral *Pigot* brought up "the bill for empowering the lord high admiral, or the commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of England, to hold courts martial on sea-officers in his Majesty's service, at any convenient place on shore, as often in such cases as the lord high admiral, or the lords commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral, shall judge it necessary or expedient."

The bill was read a first and second time, and then committed, and the committee appointed to sit immediately.

Upon

Upon this Mr. Brett took the chair, and the bill was again read, clause by clause, several inconsiderable amendments were made, and then the chairman asked, if any gentleman had any clause to propose?

Mr. Gould [judge advocate] desired it might be considered, that, under the act for regulating courts martial in the navy, the captains who try the cause are not permitted to leave the ship till the trial is over; because they are not to mix with the world, or have any communication with it, while they are sitting in judgment: he therefore hoped some provision would be made similar to it.

After a slight debate on the subject, the attorney-general drew up a clause to the same effect, which was inserted.

Lord *Mulgrave* hinted that the military academy in the dock-yard at Portsmouth was the place thought of, and which he imagined would be liable to no objection, as there was a commodious hall belonging to it, and proper apartments for the officers who were to be the judges, which would be fitted up with every convenient accommodation.

The *Solicitor General* next moved a clause, tending to grant a power to the court of excluding strangers at discretion, for the better preserving order and decorum at the trial. This was opposed, and in the end withdrawn.

Sir *Fletcher Norton*, in his seat as a member, deemed the clause unnecessary: he said, to be sure the court would of course have a discretionary power to prevent such a crowd as might interrupt the trial, or be otherwise detrimental; courts of justice always had; therefore no provision was necessary; and any restrictions calculated to exclude persons of any denomination, would be contrary to the first principle of the English law. The doors of all courts of justice, as well as places of public worship, must be open; and, to be sure, all his Majesty's subjects had an equal right to be admitted, as long as room could be found for them without incommoding the court.

When the bill was gone through the committee, Admiral *Pigot* gave his reasons for bringing it in, out of respect to the preservation of so valuable a life, which the public might one day want again. He then recapitulated the services Admiral Keppel had performed for his country in the last war, and concluded with some professional remarks on the action off *Ushant*. He said the admiral could not have acted otherwise than he did; the French for four days avoided coming to an action, and if our admiral had attempted to draw up his fleet in the usual line of battle, he could never have come to

up with them at all, they were so much to windward of him ; and what would have been said, if he had returned into port without exchanging a shot ? The whole country would have been in an uproar and confusion.

Adjourned to the 22d.

The House sat on the 22d, 23d, and 24th ; but there were no debates on those days. On the 24th the House adjourned to the 14th of January 1779.

A few days before the adjournment, and a little while after the next meeting, the following papers were laid upon the table :

A List of the Commissariate, appointed at the Treasury, in consequence of the War in North America, with an Account of their Pay.

In CANADA.

Commissary of the Army in Canada.

			<i>Pay per Annum.</i>	<i>Date.</i>
Nathaniel Day, Esq.	-	-	2 0	Mar. 30, 1776

Deputy Commissaries.

John Drummond, Esq.	-	-	1 10	ditto
Fleetwood Parkhurst, Esq.	-	-	1 10	ditto

Assistant-Commissaries.

Jonathan Clark, Gent.	-	-	1 0	ditto
Isaac Winslow Clarke, Gent.	-	-	1 0	ditto
James Farquharson, Gent.	-	-	1 0	Sept. 18, 1776

In NORTH AMERICA.

Commissary.

Daniel Chamier, Esq.	-	-	2 0	Apr. 1, 1776
Daniel Wier, Esq. vice Daniel Chamier	-	-	2 0	Feb. 1, 1777
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Commissary of Accounts.

	<i>Pay per Diem.</i>	<i>Dates.</i>
Daniel Chamier, Esq.	3 0 ditto	
Duncan Drummond, Esq. vice D. Chamier, deceased	3 0 Feb.	1779

Deputy Commissaries.

John Morrison, Esq.	1 10	Apr. 1, 1776
Peter Paumier, Esq.	1 10	2,
George Brinley, Esq.	1 10	3,

Assistant Commissaries.

James Porteus, Gent.	1 0	1,
James Christie, Gent.	1 0	2,
John Crawford, Gent.	1 0	3,
William Butler, Gent.	1 0	Nov. 1, 1776
Frederick William Hecht, Gent.	1 0	2,
Gregory Townthend, Gent.	1 0	3,
Roger Johnson, Gent.	1 0	June 20, 1777

Inspector and Superintendent of the Provisions, Train of Horses, and Waggons.

Francis Rush Clarke, Esq.	1 0	June 15, 1776
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List of Commissaries serving in Canada and at the Upper Posts, between Dec. 25, 1777, and June 24, 1778, and paid by Nathaniel Day, Commissary General (Treasury Commissaries excepted.)

Treasury Commissaries.

Nathaniel Day, commissary-general, Montreal
 John Drummond, deputy commissary-general, Quebec
 Fleetwood Parkhurst, ditto, Sorel
 James Farquharson, assistant commissary-general, Chambly
 Isaac Clark, ditto, Montreal

Commissaries attending the Army in Canada.

	<i>Commencing</i>	<i>Salary, Army Pay, Ending. 4s. 8d. per dollar.</i>
N. McLean, assist. com. gen. at Berthier	1777	1778
D. Bl. G., deputy commiss. Quebec, sick	Dec. 25,	June 24, 10 T. Scott,

	Commencing. 1777	Salary, Army Pay, Ending. 4s. 8d. 1778 per dollar.
T. Scott, dep. commif. at Quebec	Dec. 25,	June 24, 10
Sam. Phillips, affiftant ditto, ditto	ditto	ditto 5
James Penkerton, conductor, ditto	ditto	ditto 3
Serj. Tike, for invalids, at ditto	ditto	ditto 1
J. Pritchard, royalifts, at ditto	ditto	ditto 1
S. Sills, affift. com. at Three Rivers	ditto	ditto 5
Thomas Lewis, conductor, at ditto	ditto	ditto 3
S. Drewry, affift. commif. at Sorel	ditto	ditto 5
John Davy, ditto, at ditto	ditto	ditto 5
Alex. Chaucer, conductor, at ditto	ditto	ditto 3
S. Jacobs, affift. com. at St. Dennis	ditto	ditto 5
Daniel Morrifon, ditto, at Berthier	ditto	ditto 5
Mich. Flanigan, ditto, at La Chenay	ditto	ditto 5
Alexander M'Ray, ditto, fick	ditto	ditto 5
Nin. Crichton, ditto at Montreal	ditto	ditto 5
Lewis Boutillier, ditto, at ditto	ditto	ditto 5
F. Landrieve, ditto, at ditto	ditto	ditto 5
Joseph Johnson, conductor, at ditto	ditto	ditto 3
P. Beaubaffin, affift. com. at Lachine	ditto	ditto 5
G. Gauchee, ditto, at ditto	ditto	ditto 5
Fra. Courfole, conductor, at ditto	ditto	ditto 3
Levi Willard, ditto, fick	ditto	ditto 3
Le G. Perriville, affift. com. at Laprairie	ditto	ditto 5
— Campbell, conductor at ditto	ditto	ditto 3
A. Crookthanks, affift. com. at Bou-		
chervill	ditto	ditto 5
Thomas Dennis, ditto, at Cedars	ditto	ditto 5
— Boileau, fen. ditto, at Chambly	ditto	ditto 5
— Boileau, jun. conductor, at ditto	ditto	ditto 3
P. Petrimoux, conductor, at ditto	ditto	ditto 3
John M'Cutchion, ditto, at ditto	ditto	ditto 3
C. Blaney, affift. com. at St. John's	ditto	ditto 5
John Beninger, ditto, at ditto	ditto	ditto 3
John Valentine, conductor, at ditto	ditto	ditto 3
J. Grant, deputy com. at Navy	ditto	ditto 10
George Scarr, conductor, at ditto	ditto	ditto 3
H. M'Ray, affift. com. at Ile-aux-Noix	ditto	ditto 5
M. Murphy, conductor, at ditto	ditto	ditto 3
A. Gallaway, ditto, at ditto	ditto	ditto 3
S. Prenties, affift. com. at Pointaufier	ditto	ditto 5
	1778	
R. Woodmafs, conductor, at Quebec	May 25,	ditto 3

Upper Post Commissaries.

	Commencing.	Salary, Army Pay, Ending.	As. 8d. per dollar.
J. Ferguson, assist. com. at Oswegatchy	1777 Dec. 25,	June 24,	5
James Pudge way, conductor, at ditto,	1778 Mar. 25,	ditto	3
Ed. Pollard, assist. com. at Niagara,	1777 Dec. 25,	ditto	5
Edward Smith, ditto at Fort Erie	ditto	ditto	5
Sampson Fleming, ditto, at Detroit	ditto	ditto	5
John Askin, ditto, at Michilmakenac	ditto	ditto	5
Signed NATHANIEL DAY, Commissary General.			

List of Persons employed in the Commissariate under the Direction of Daniel Wier, Commissary General, Philadelphia, May 22, 1778.

	Pay per Day, Sterling. Currency.
A. Knecht, assist. commif. at Philadelphia	20 0
Richard Graham, ditto, at ditto	10 0
Nathaniel Whitworth, ditto, at ditto	5 0
Balfour Stewart, ditto, at ditto	5 0
Gilham Tailor, ditto, at ditto	5 0

Clerks, Store-Keepers, Issuers of Provisions, &c.

Alexander Wemyss, at Philadelphia	5 0
William Coffin, at ditto	5 0
James Stockton, at ditto	5 0
John Howland, at ditto	5 0
Robert Caldcleugh, at ditto	5 0
Greegs Farrish, at ditto	5 0
John Christie, at ditto	5 0
J. C. Senger, at ditto	7 6
Richard William Parkin, at ditto	5 0
Alexander Menzies, at ditto	4 0
N. B. Nine coopers and about 60 labourers in the Stores, at	3 6
Gilliam Butler, forage department	10 0

Clerks, Receivers, and Issuers of Forage.

Samuel Clayton, at Philadelphia	5 0
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Seth

		Pay per Day.		
		Sterling-Currency.		
		s.	d.	q.
Seth North, at Philadelphia	-	5	0	
Walter Humphreys, at ditto	-	5	0	
Alexander Gallatly, at ditto	-	5	0	
William Sheppard, at ditto	-	5	0	
Two overseers and about 30 labourers.				
Thomas Aston Coffin, assistant commissary.				
John Jaffray, superintendant of fresh provisions, at Philadelphia	-	10	0	
William Elder, clerk	-	5	0	
Nine butchers, at per day.				
John Mac Kenney, first clerk, New York		7	6	
Rigdon Brice, ditto, at ditto	-	7	6	
Adam Dolmage, ditto, at ditto	-	7	6	
Horatio Smith, ditto, at ditto	-	7	6	
Joseph Chew, assistant clerk, at ditto	-	5	0	
John Menzies, store-keeper, at ditto	-	5	0	
George Gosling, ditto, at ditto	-	5	0	
Kennith Mackenie, assistant store-keeper, at do.	-	3	6	
Daniel Dunscomb, ditto, at ditto	-	3	6	
Archibald Blundell, ditto, at ditto	-	3	6	
William Dunlap, ditto, at ditto	-	3	6	
N. B. Between 40 and 50 labourers, upon an average, in the stores, without rations, except the coopers, who receive rations				
	-		4	0
John Depon Wilkes, accomptant, at ditto	-	10	0	
John Nugent, deputy in stoppage-office with Gregory Townsend, at ditto	-	10	0	
Joseph Orchard, superintendant of the King's bakery with Peter Paumier, at ditto	-	5	0	
John Richardson, ditto, at ditto	-	5	0	
J. Buxton, inspector of the town bakeries, at do.			8	0
H. M'Dowl, ditto flour and dry provisions, at do.			8	0
About 30 bakers employed from 4l. to 5l. per month, and their rations.				
W. Tyng, assistant commissary, at Brooklyn	-	10	0	
One cooper and two labourers occasionally, at ditto, at per day.				
W. Paterson, assist. commissary, at Jamaica, L. T.	-	5	0	
About 3 labourers, at ditto, at per day	-	4	0	
S. Jones, assistant commissary, at Staten Island	-	5	0	
Joseph Jones, ditto, at ditto	-	5	0	
One cooper and two labourers, at ditto				
			4	0
	O 3			J. Cog.

		<i>Pay per Day.</i>	
		<i>Sterling. Currency.</i>	
		<i>£</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
J. Coggeshall, assist. commis. at Powle's Hook		5	0
One assistant occasionally, at ditto			4 0
If. Noble, assist. commis. at Marlston's wharf		5	0
Three or four labourers, at ditto			4 0
Robert Rofs, keeper of the transport account, at			
New York	-	10	0
Thomas Moore, assistant ditto, at ditto	-	5	0
John Moore, assistant accomptant, at ditto	-	5	0
Samuel Paine, ditto, at ditto	-	5	0
William Newton, clerk, at ditto	-	5	0
Benjamin Thompson, ditto, at ditto	-	5	0
Two labourers, at ditto	-		4 0
W. Nixon, inspector of provisions and stores, at do.	10	0	
Stephen Kibble, assistant commissary, at ditto	7	6	
William Parsons, ditto, at ditto	-	5	0
Robert Harding, out-door clerk, at ditto	-	4	6
Robert Crannel, ditto, at ditto	-	5	0
Andrew Mac Lewie, ditto, at ditto	-	5	0
Jacob V. Sie, ditto, at ditto	-	4	6
John Fitzpatrick, out-door clerk, at ditto	-	4	6
J. Fegan, store-keeper, porter, and vinegar, at do.	5	0	
Lachlan Mac Intoth, assistant commissary and			
issuer of provisions, at ditto	-	10	0
Benjamin Chadwell, clerk of issues, at ditto	5	0	
John Wier, ditto, at ditto	-	5	0
Alexander Dobbin, assistant clerk, at New York	4	6	
Godlieb Switzier, Hessian interpreter, at ditto	4	6	
Eight coopers at 5s. and 60 labourers at 4s. occa-			
sionally, at ditto.			
E. G. Lutwyche, superintendant of the King's			
brewery, at ditto	-	10	0
Charles Hompay, brewer, at ditto	-	5	0
Benjamin Hilton, clerk, at ditto	-	5	0
Richard Edwards, cooper, at ditto	-	3	6
J. Brundige, do. at do. 5l. currency per month.			
John Brewer, carman, 4l. 10s. per ditto.			
John Child, ditto, 4l. 10s. per ditto			
Five labourers	-		5 0
H. Willard, commissary of cattle, at New York	10	0	
Abel Willard, assistant ditto, at ditto	-	5	0
Habijah Willard, junior, ditto, at ditto	-	5	0

John

A. 1778.

D E B A T E S.

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Pay per Day.
Sterling Currency.
s. d. s. d.

John Beck, ditto, at New York	-	5	0
Peter Ball, issuer of fresh provisions, at ditto	-	6	0
John Kelfo, clerk, at Brooklyn	-	4	0
J. Tourneay, issuer of fresh provisions, Staten Island	-	6	0
G. Cicker, butcher, 7l. 10s. currency per month.	-		
T. Summer, overseer of cattle, at New Lands, &c.	-	5	6
William Gillian, ditto, at Gravesend	-	4	2
Three labourers at 3s. and two ditto at 2s. per day.	-		
J. Stewart, commissary, &c. at Kingsbridge	10	0	
S. Patterson, assistant ditto of provisions, at ditto	5	0	
James Twevey, ditto at ditto	-	5	0
Evan Camercon, ditto of forage, at ditto	-	5	0
Mott Cannon, cooper, at 6l. per month.	-		
Henry Rutherford, ditto, at 5l. ditto.	-		
Michael Ryer, issuer of forage, at 6l. ditto.	-		
Four labourers at 4l. ditto.	-		
S. Kemble, purveyor of forage, at New York	15	0	
John Philips, assistant commissary, at ditto	-	7	6
Benjamin James, accomptant and assistant commissary, at ditto	-	10	0
John Hawkins, assistant in forage office, at ditto	5	0	
Thomas Wright, ditto, at ditto	-	4	6
Israel Mund, clerk of grain magazine, at ditto	5	0	
Nathaniel Dickenson, receiver and deliverer of hay magazine, at ditto	-		
John M'Kown, clerk of ditto, at ditto	-	4	6
Joshua Lock, assistant commissary, at Staten Island	4	6	
Duncan Achettree, ditto, at Long Island	-	5	0
Robert Cook, ditto, at Marston's Wharf	-	4	0
John Cutler, collector of forage, and 2 horses, at Long Island	-	9	0
John Bell, ditto 1 horse, at ditto	-	6	9
Sixty-one labourers attending different magazines	-	2	3
James Clerk, first clerk, at Newport	-	7	6
James Wyat, ditto, at ditto	-	4	8
Charles Ryley, ditto, at ditto	-	3	6
Robert Ferguson, ditto, at ditto	-	1	6
One labourer at 1l. 17s. 4d. sterl. per month.	-		
Francis Hill, superintendant for transporting forage, at Newport	-	5	0
Thomas Parkin, commissary of provisions, at do.	10	0	

	Pay per Day, Sterling Currency.		
	l.	s.	d.
Amos Bull, assistant ditto, at New York	-	5	0
Nathan B. Miller, clerk, at ditto	-	4	0
Lewis Latham Clark, assistant commissary, at Portsmouth	-	4	0
Two labourers	-	2	4
George Leonard, commissary of cattle, at Newport	7	6	
William M'Kenstry, assistant ditto, at ditto	4	0	
John Nicholls, butcher, at ditto	-	5	0
Bauston Coggeshall, ditto, at ditto	-	2	4
John Coit, ditto, at ditto	-	3	6
One labourer	-	2	0
J. Campbell, deputy commissary of forage, at do.	7	6	
Benj. William Muirson, assistant ditto, at ditto	5	0	
Duncan M'Gregor, ditto, at Portsmouth	-	4	0
John Honyman, clerk of forage office, at Newport	3	0	
Edward Brinley, ditto, at ditto	-	3	0
Peter Wanton, collector of forage, at ditto	4	0	
Samuel Dyer, superintendant of forage, at ditto	5	0	
Abraham All, collector of ditto, at ditto	-	4	0
Forty-eight labourers employed in different maga- zines, at ditto	-	2	4
Ditto, on Conanicut	-	2	0
John Perkins, assistant commissary, at Halifax	7	6	
Isaac Deschamps, ditto, at Windfor	-	7	6
John Nicholl, ditto, at Fort Cumberland	-	5	0
Daniel Chamier, jun. ditto, at St. Augustine	10	0	

Extract of a Letter from the Right Honourable Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount Howe, to Mr. Stephens, Secretary of the Admiralty. Dated on board his Majesty's ship the Eagle, off Bil-lingport, May 9, 1778.

THE desertion of the seamen from the transports, as well as ships of war, to traders furnished with letters of marque, has required a particular attention. Before I sailed from Sandy Hook, Governor Tryon communicated to me the contents of a circular letter he had received from Lord George Germain,

Germain, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, and signified his resolution to grant letters of marque as soon as he was furnished with the proper authority.

I transmit the copies of my correspondence with the governor on that occasion; hoping the motives for recommending a suspension of his purpose will be approved by their Lordships.

Copy of a circular Letter from Lord George Germain to the Governor of New-York, &c. dated Whitehall, January 10, 1778.

SIR,

THE Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty having authorized you to grant commissions of marque against the rebels, it is to be expected that vessels bearing such commissions will bring their prizes into the ports within your government, and you may be under some embarrassment in respect to the disposal of the prisoners; I have therefore received the King's commands to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure that, when any prisoners, taken in any rebel privateer, or armed cruiser, shall be brought into any of the ports within your government, you do commit them to the common gaol or other place of safe custody, and apply to the assembly for an allowance for their maintenance and other expences attending their confinement; and in case the assembly shall not think fit to take upon themselves the providing for such expences, you are to draw upon the Lords commissioners of the treasury for the amount, taking care that every thing be done in the most frugal and careful manner, and accompanying your bills with the proper vouchers: and when any opportunity offers of putting them on board any of his Majesty's ships, you will deliver them to the commanders, in such numbers as they can be received, in order for their being sent to England under the Admiral's direction; and in case you cannot so dispose of the whole, you may agree with the masters of different merchant ships, to take the remainder in small numbers and carry them to England as prisoners, their passage to be paid here upon certificates of their delivery on board any of his Majesty's ships at Plymouth, Portsmouth, in the Downs, or at the Nore; and you are at the same time to transmit to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty one or more affidavits, properly authenticated, that such prisoners were taken in armed vessels

vessels commissioned by the rebels. In regard to the crews of any trading vessels belonging to the rebels, such of them as the commanders of his Majesty's ships do not think fit to press into the King's service, must be left at liberty.

I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAIN.

Copy of a Letter from the Lord Viscount Howe, to Governor Tryon, dated Eagle, off Sandy Hook, April 11, 1778.

SIR,

Captain Duncan has delivered to me the copy of the circular letter from the secretary of state, and the message he was charged with by your excellency, respecting your determination to grant letters of marque conformable to the tenor of it, as soon as you shall be furnished with the requisite authorities from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty.

Persuaded of the dangerous consequences that must ensue to the King's service, by the temptations thereby offered the seamen to withdraw from the transports, on which the subsistence of the army immediately and entirely depends, as well as from the ships of war, I trust that you will in regard thereof be prevailed on to postpone the issue of such letters of marque, at least in the present circumstances of the war, or until the King's pleasure (if deemed necessary to be taken) can be had upon the matter.

I am more particularly encouraged to hope for this testimony of your indulgence, when I consider the tenor and spirit of the circular letter, which, as I conceive, is not obligatory nor indeed applicable to the state of this province.

The letter obviously respects the provinces in which the civil government is regularly exercised, and the laws are still in force.

Application is to be made to the assemblies regarding the maintenance and security of the prisoners: and as necessary ground for the operation of that civil authority, it is presupposed that the captures will be brought into some port within your government; whereas, by the late restraining acts, the special licence of the commissioners therein mentioned, is required for exempting this port from the effect of the general prohibition extended in the case to all the provinces not in the King's peace.

I have the honor to be, &c. &c.

HOWE.

Copy

*Copy of a Letter from Governor Tryon, to Lord Viscount Howe,
dated New-York; April 12, 1778.*

MY LORD,

I am honor'd with your Lordship's letter of yesterday, respecting the secretary of state's circular letter for making provision for the prisoners that may be brought into this government by letters of marque.

As I have not yet received the commission nor instructions from the Lords of the Admiralty, I must beg leave to wait the arrival of that authority before I can determine on the expediency of postponing or issuing the letters of marque.

Your Lordship, however, may be assured, that next to paying a strict obedience to the letter and spirit of the King's instructions, I shall yield all due deference to your Lordship's wishes and judgment: in the mean time, I shall lose no opportunity of communicating to the secretary of state your sentiments on this subject, by transmitting him a copy of your Lordship's letter. I am, &c.

WILLIAM TRYON.

Copy of the usual Commission granted since passing the act for amending, explaining, and reducing into one Act of Parliament, the laws relating to the government of his Majesty's ships, vessels, and forces by sea, to the commanding officers of fleets or squadrons of ships of war, empowering them to order courts-martial.

Prepared in pursuance of an order of the honourable House of Commons, dated February 22, 1779.

BY the Commissioners for executing the office of
Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland,
&c.

No. I*.

FOR the better maintaining a proper government and good discipline in the squadron under your command, we do hereby authorize you to call and assemble courts-martial as you see occasion. Given, &c.

To

By command of their Lordships.

* No. I. is a copy of the commission granted to the commanding officers of fleets employed in the channel, soundings, &c.

BY the Commissioners for executing the office of
Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland,
&c.

No. II*.

FOR the better maintaining a proper government and
good discipline in the squadron under your command, we
do hereby authorise you to call and assemble courts-martial in
foreign parts, as often as you shall see occasion. Given, &c.

To

By command of their Lordships.

*Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant-general Burgoyne, to Henry
Lawrens, President of the Congress, dated Cambridge, Feb-
ruary 11, 1778.*

SIR,

HAVING received from Major-general Heath, on the
4th instant, Minutes of the Report of a Committee of Con-
gress, and considerations and resolves subsequent thereupon,
dated January the 8th, 1778 †, I think myself called upon
by

* No. II. is a copy of the commission granted to the command-
ing officers of fleets employed in foreign parts.

† Copy of the report referred to above.

In Congress, January 8, 1778.

The committee to whom the letters had passed between General
Heath and General Burgoyne, and the letter from General Bur-
goyne to General Gates, were committed, brought in a Report,
which was taken into consideration and agreed to, as follows:—

That they have considered, with mature attention, the convention
entered into at Saratoga, between Major-general Gates and Lieu-
tenant-general Burgoyne, in October last, and find numbers of the
cartouch-boxes, and several other articles of military accoutrements,
annexed to the persons of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers
in General Burgoyne's army, have not been delivered up, and that
agreeably to the spirit of the convention, and the technical interpre-
tation of the word "*arms*," they ought to have been delivered up.
This opinion is warranted not only by the judgment of the most ap-
proved writers, but by the interpretation and practice of British
officers, in similar cases, in the course of the present war, particu-
larly in the capitulation of St. John's, on the 2d of November 1778.

Your committee further report, that there are so many other
circumstances attending the delivery of the arms and military stores,
which

by public and private honour to offer a reply to such parts as regard my personal conduct, together with other matters arising from the explanation of facts.

My state of health, and the anxieties of my situation, occasioned by some extraordinary occurrences here, render me very unfit for the undertaking; but I chose rather to hazard it

which excite strong suspicions that the convention has not been strictly complied with on the part of General Burgoyne, agreeably to its true spirit and the intention of the contracting parties, and so many instances of former fraud in the conduct of our enemies, as to justify Congress, however cautious to avoid even the suspicion of want of good faith, in taking every measure for securing the performance of the convention, which did not impose any new condition, nor tend to delay its execution. Of this nature your committee consider the resolution of Congress of the 8th of November last, directing General Heath "to cause to be taken down the name and rank of every commissioned officer, and the name, former place of abode, occupation, size, age, and description, of every non-commissioned officer and private soldier, and all other persons comprehended in the convention of Saratoga."———This cannot be considered as imposing any new condition, but as a measure naturally resulting from the articles of convention, which the conquering party has a right to avail itself of, and which is strictly justifiable, had no just suspicion of the want of good faith in the party surrendering presented itself. Your committee are of opinion, that the reasons which General Burgoyne adduces for refusing a compliance, are inapplicable to the case; and they beg leave to observe, that he is totally mistaken in his appeal to the conduct of Sir Guy Carleton and himself, with respect to the prisoners released from Canada, in August 1776; for notwithstanding his express declaration to the contrary, in his letter of the 23d of November last to General Heath, it appears from the original list of the prisoners released from Canada, which is herewith presented, that the provinces, counties, and towns to which the prisoners released belonged, were annexed to their respective names, and which, for the greater security of the conquering party, were in the hand-writing of the respective prisoners. Your committee, therefore, cannot but consider General Burgoyne's refusal to give descriptive lists of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers belonging to his army, when connected with his former conduct, and ill-grounded assertion on this occasion, in an alarming point of view; more especially when they consider, that nine days previous to this refusal, he had, without just cause given, declared in a letter to General Gates, that the public faith, plighted in the convention of Saratoga, was broken on the part of these states,

This

able to the spirit of the convention, and the technical interpretation of the word "arms," they ought to have been delivered up; and the resolves arising from this article of the report expresses, "That as many of the cartouch-boxes, and several other articles of military accoutrements, annexed to the persons of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers included in the convention of Saratoga, have not been delivered up, the convention, on the part of the British army, has not been strictly complied with." I desire to refer in this matter to the recollection of General Gates, and I rely upon his justice to vindicate my assertion, that neither cartouch-boxes, nor any other article of accoutrements, which agreeable to the spirit of the convention, or the "technical," or possible interpretation, could come under the word "arms," were refused to be delivered up, or clandestinely carried away; the cartouch-boxes, viz. those that are technically interpreted arms, or military stores, because delivered from the Tower of London, with every new set of firelocks and bayonets, were by most regiments left in Canada, as less convenient than pouches: the cartouch-boxes that remained were only those of the light infantry companies; several of which were actually deposited with the arms; and the very few others were carried away under the eyes and with the knowledge of General Gates.

The Congress having dwelt particularly upon this charge, both in the report and the resolve, I trust I am justifiable in pressing further upon their attention the report of the officer who

Resolved, That the charge made by Lieutenant-general Burgoyne, in his letter to Major-general Gates, of the 14th of November, of a breach of public faith, on the part of these states, is not warranted by the just construction of any article of the convention of Saratoga; that it is a strong indication of his intentions, and affords just grounds of fear, that he will avail himself of such pretended breach of the convention, in order to disengage himself and the army under him, of the obligation they are under to these United States, and that the security which these states have had in his personal honour is hereby destroyed.

Resolved therefore, That the embarkation of Lieutenant-general Burgoyne, and the army under his command, be suspended till a distinct and explicit ratification of the convention at Saratoga shall be properly notified by the court of Great Britain to Congress.

Extract from the minutes.

CHARLES THOMPSON, Secretary,*

* [This Report was not laid before the House.]

who carried a message to the troops, in consequence of a conversation between General Gates and Major-general Phillips, No. I. which clearly demonstrates the first sense General Gates entertained of the whole transaction; and the report of Lieutenant-colonel Kingston, the deputy adjutant-general, No. II. which refers to the time when the troops passed by General Gates on their march, with all their accoutrements upon their backs, some hours after the above message, makes the general's participation, consent and approbation, after reflection, equally evident.

The committee, in the next article, mention "other circumstances attending the delivery of the arms and military stores, which excite strong suspicions that the convention has not been strictly complied with on the part of General Burgoyne, agreeable to its true spirit, and the intention of the contracting parties."

The Congress will be too just to lay any censure upon me for not answering an allegation propounded in such general terms, and the objects of which I do not comprehend. As little is it in my power to conceive the objects alluded to by the words of the same paragraph, "former frauds in the conduct of our enemies." My consternation in finding the British honour in treaties impeached, is the only sentiment I can express upon the subject.

The committee proceed to state, as a necessary measure for securing the performance of the convention "the resolutions of Congress of the 8th of November last, directing General Howe to cause to be taken down the names and rank of every commissioned officer, and the name, former place of abode, occupation, size, age, and description of every non-commissioned officer, private soldier, and all other persons comprehended in the convention of Saratoga."

It might be thought improper in me to renew the arguments used in my letter to Major-general Heath, dated November the 23d, which has been already under the consideration of the Congress, and upon which they have decided, respecting the imposing new conditions, by insisting upon the descriptive list; but I am under the necessity of representing, that the committee have not attended to the words of my letter, when they observe, "I am totally mistaken in my appeal." I do not mean to deny that the prisoners' names, countries and towns, were taken down in Canada. I always knew they were, and for this plain reason, that they bound themselves to return to Canada upon a demand, and it was therefore necessary to know their abodes.

The committee do not state that descriptive lists were taken, and I believe them too accurate to have omitted a circumstance so material to make the cases parallel; but were it otherwise in any instances to which I have been a stranger in Canada, I venture still to persevere in my assertions, that in those instances where I was present, descriptive lists were not made at all, nor any lists or signatures proposed upon suspicion of public faith, or any other ground than that above specified, of ascertaining the prisoners, and the place where they were to be found, in case it should be judged expedient to recall them.

It will be for the candour and justice of the Congress to consider, that in my letter to Major-general Heath, dated November the 23d, my refusal was founded solely on this idea, that the application was dishonourable and unprecedented; and as a farther proof that the committee have placed this refusal in a point of view more alarming than it deserves, I beg leave to refer the Congress to other letters which passed between General Heath and me upon this subject (No. III. and IV.) and they will find that, when a precedent was produced, I only required time to convince myself the parallel held; and though, from an unhappy affair, to which my time has been necessarily devoted, and the period for the delivery of such lists not pressing, I withheld my final answer, I am persuaded General Heath, and those of his officers with whom I have conversed upon the subject, plainly saw I meant to comply upon the precedent, as stated in his letter of the 21st of January.

I confess, Sir, that feeling for the honour of Sir Guy Carleton, who commanded in Canada at the time, as every man does who knows him, I find it impossible to leave unnoticed the matter General Heath has thought proper to intermix with this precedent, in the letter referred to; and I take leave, for one moment's digression, to observe, that our own officers, of all ranks, in the land service, are allowed no more than three quarters of a ration on board any of our ships; nor is any distinction of ration made for our officers of any rank, it being supposed that they supply themselves, at their private expence, with different fare.

The committee have thought proper to blend with their observation upon my refusal of descriptive lists, my former conduct, and more especially the consideration, "that nine days previous to this refusal, I had, without just cause given, declared, in a letter to General Gates, that the public faith,

faith, plighted in the convention of Saratoga, was broken on the part of the States ;" and great stress is laid, that my declaration was not dropped in a hasty expression, dictated by sudden passion, but is delivered as a deliberate act of judgment.

I am so unfortunate not to have preserved any copy of a letter stated to be of such serious consequence ; but that very circumstance, joined to the conscious rectitude of my own intentions, is to myself a proof that it cannot bear the interpretation the committee give it, if taken upon the general context.

I well remember that I meant to inform General Gates, that the treaty was not complied with in respect to the stipulation of quartering officers ; and in whatever words I may have expressed that idea, though I do not retain them in my memory, I will venture to pronounce that, upon an impartial revision, and compared with attendant circumstances, they would be found to amount to no more than a call upon General Gates to see the complaint redressed.

To prove that such a call was warranted, I transmit herewith (No. V.) the reports of the British and German corps, both respecting the officers and the men, and to mark that I did not consider the article of the treaty, in this respect, in a rigorous sense, as the committee suppose me to have done ; but in the latitude they themselves give it upon the words, " as far as circumstances would admit," I cannot forbear to represent that, notwithstanding the concurrence of strangers, the late devastation and destruction of the neighbourhood, and every other circumstance the committee have been informed of, in extenuation of the treatment of the troops, circumstances did fully admit the accommodation of officers. There were, at the time of the above complaints, houses more than sufficient for the purpose ; some of them, as I have been informed, under sequestration, and possessed only by tenants at will, over which the council of the Massachusetts had, consequently, controul ; others possessed by persons who would have been willing to receive officers, had they not been prevented by the committee of Cambridge ; and during this time, after being pressed into Cambridge through bad weather, inconvenience and fatigue, without any preparation made to receive the superior officers, I was lodged in a miserable public-house ; and, in ill health, obliged to partake with Major-general Phillips, two very small dirty rooms for ourselves, our aid-de-camps, and the staff of the army

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then present, having been amused, from day to day, for near a fortnight, with the expectation of proper accommodations, I was only at last relieved by consenting to pay, upon a private bargain, a larger sum for an unfurnished house out of repair, than would have been required for a palace in the dearest metropolis in the world: And under these circumstances I wrote to General Gates. Had they been known to the committee at the time they formed their report, they would probably have spared a sarcasm upon my letter, and have supposed I might have dropped a hasty and unguarded expression. Should any further refutation of this charge be thought necessary, I refer to the circumstances of the officers consenting to sign their parole after the date of my letter to General Gates, they having previously refused so to do, upon presumption that the stipulations in regard to their quarters were abused. Upon the faith of General Heath, I made myself guarantee for the fulfilling of the treaty in the only part complained of; and the act of signing by a general concurrence, cannot but be looked upon as the fullest proof of confirmation and ratification on our part, and when considered, must obliterate every impression relative to our thinking ourselves absolved from our former compact.

The committee not having professed to lay any stress on the attempt (as they think proper to term it) "to alter the place of embarkation, or on the seeming inadequate number of vessels at Rhode Island, or on the improbability of being able to victual the fleet and army for a voyage of such length," and the plan of this address being only to answer matter relative to myself, I might wave touching those subjects, but trust it will not be thought misplaced to remark, that General Pigot's letter, to which the committee refer, mentions, that twenty-six transports from the Delaware were off the harbour's mouth, at Rhode-Island, but no expression in the letter implies that the fleet was not to consist of more from New York or any other place; and in regard to the victualing, I not only pledge my own veracity, but that of the most high and reputable characters at Rhode Island; that the fleet was fully victualled for four months, for the whole of the land army and seamen.

After these explanations and answers to the several charges contained in the report, &c. I trust no words of so harsh a nature, as to imply a distrust of my personal honour, will be suffered to remain in the Journals of Congress.

But should any doubt still subsist, that the idea of being released from the engagements of the convention has been
adopted

adopted by any part of the troops, I am confident there is not an officer who will not join his signature to mine, for a further pledge of faith, provided the suspension is immediately taken off; and animated by the most substantial principles of truth and honour, I propose to the Congress this last expedient within my power, to restore the mutual confidence of the contracting parties in the convention of Saratoga, and to save at once Great Britain and America from yet more serious evils than we reciprocally endure in the prosecution of our unhappy contest.

COPIES of the REFERENCES.

No. I.

Report of Lieutenant Noble, acting aid-de-camp to Major-general Phillips.

In the course of conversation at Saratoga, October 17, 1777, I heard Major-general Gates say, that he did not mean to injure private property; and as the colonels would suffer by the loss of their accoutrements, the soldiers might take them. I was the officer sent to the commanding officers to tell them, the soldiers were to keep their accoutrements; they had taken them off with a design to leave them behind, and upon my delivering the message, they put them on again. This was before dinner—Major-general Phillips and Major-general Gates were together.

WM. NOBLE, Lieut. 21st Reg.

No. II.

Conversation between Major-general Gates and Lieutenant-colonel Kingston.

At the convention of Saratoga, October 17, 1777, when the troops marched with their accoutrements, General Gates asked me, if it was not customary for arms and accoutrements to go together?—Replying, that the accoutrements were the colonels, and private property; General Gates said, very true; they are yours as such, and because we have not mentioned them in the convention.

ROBERT KINGSTON, D. A. G.

No. III.

Extract of a Letter from General Heath, dated Jan. 21, 1778.

You are pleased to observe, that in regard to giving the names, viz. &c. &c. your opinion not being changed, you are under the necessity of referring me to your former letter upon that subject; but at the same time assure me, that if I will point out to you the instances I alluded to, where similar demands have been made by British officers, and complied with, you will give the matter further consideration, and further answer, and then conclude, "that in Canada I know the case was directly the reverse." As your excellency appears inclined to appeal to the conduct of the officers in Canada, I will give you an instance, and a recent one too, from that quarter, which I think will be fully sufficient without mentioning others. The American officers and soldiers, taken by the army under your command, at and near Ticonderoga, and sent down to Canada, are now returned home under parole; their treatment was as follows, which I have from a Captain Walcott, of Colonel Marshall's regiment: When they got to Quebec, the officers gave their paroles, and directly after they were all sent on board the man of war indiscriminately with the privates; and they were told by the officers on board, that they knew no difference between them, as they looked upon the government that made them to be nothing; and before they were sent home, the following descriptions were taken of the soldiers, viz. their names, the province, country, and town where they belonged to, age, size, and complexion. Officers and men being intermixed together, had two thirds of a ration per day without distinction. After mentioning these instances, Sir, I hope you will have no further objection in complying with the requisition sent you for taking the descriptions of the troops of the convention.

I am,

Your excellency's

most obedient servant,

W. HEATH.

Lieutenant-general Burgoyne.

No. IV.

No. IV.

*Copy of a letter from General Burgoyne, to Major-general Heath,
January 24, 1778.*

SIR,

I should have answered your letter, received the day before yesterday, sooner, but the business of the court-martial has taken up my whole time; the officers' fuses have been ordered in; they will be safely kept at my quarters, and I will be responsible for their not being returned to the officers while they remain here. These fuses are no part of the public stores; they are private property; if you make a point of their being given into your custody, I must beg a little time to reflect upon it. With regard to the other matter, concerning the personal descriptions of the troops, I must give it serious consideration, and I conceive the delay cannot be attended with any disappointment, as any time before the embarkation will equally answer the purpose for which you require it.

I am, Sir, your most humble servant,

J. BURGOYNE.

Major-general Heath.

No. V.

Substances of the remonstrances made to the General by the commanding officers of the troops of the convention, soon after their arrival at Cambridge.

The dictates of humanity, as well as our duty, prompt us to lay before your excellency our humble representation on the state of ourselves, and of the officers and soldiers under our command. We beg of your excellency to interest yourself for us, and, by your remonstrances, to remedy the ill treatment which we now undergo, and of which we have but too much reason to complain.

According to one of the articles of the convention, which your excellency made with Major-general Gates, it was agreed, that the officers should be conveniently lodged, according to their different ranks. Instead of this article being fulfilled, we are put into barracks, made of single boards; five, six, and seven officers in one room, without any distinction of rank.

The soldiers barracks, in general, are so very bad, that the men are not sheltered from the cold, or rain, though they have offered themselves to repair their barracks, upon materials

rials being delivered to them; they are twenty, and twenty-four in a room, three in a birth, are without candle, and scarce receive wood enough to cook their victuals, much less to warm their rooms.

These, but too well founded, complaints, occasion an universal discontent among the troops; desertion, and other serious consequences, for which we cannot be answerable, are much to be feared; we feel much less concerned for our own private convenience, than for that of the troops under our command.

We are too well convinced of your excellency's goodness, to doubt a moment of this remonstrance being taken into consideration. We are well assured that you will insist upon and obtain those advantages to which the convention entitles the troops; we imagine they ought, in justice, to be put upon the same footing as in the winter 1775, when the British troops were in garrison in Boston.

We put our fate into the hands, and under the protection of your excellency, and have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, &c. &c.

Signed by the brigadier-generals, and officers commanding corps.

S I R,

Should the first letter, which my aid-de-camp will have the honour to deliver to you, fail in the intended effect of restoring the convention of Saratago to its original force, and the Congress adhere to their resolves of January 8, I become subject to the dilemma of sacrificing, probably my life, and certainly much nearer interests, or to accept a passport for England, should the Congress think proper to grant it as a matter of indulgence.

Principle and duty require me to avow that, did I conceive the cause of my king and country to be involved, or the great question, upon the point of public faith, to be committed by my concession, these personal sacrifices should be made. But conscious that a request, founded upon individual and private concerns, cannot be prejudicial to the political interests or intentions of Great Britain; and, persuaded that a compliance with them can as little affect the same considerations in America, I address myself to you, Sir, as the channel which I conceive to be the most proper, to lay before the Congress the following representations and application for relief.

My

My health, to which the climate of America was always averse, has lately declined by more than ordinary degrees.

The symptoms of a complaint I have been subject to before, and to which the Bath waters have been found the only remedy, are daily increasing; and it is the opinion of my physician, as well as my own, that my life under God, depends in a great measure upon that resource.

Accounts with the treasury of Great Britain, to great extent, and of a very complicated nature, lie open by reason of my absence; and my death before they are settled, might occasion much embarrassment; and great injury to my relations and friends.

The circumstances apply to the general principles of justice and humanity; another yet remains for generous consideration.

By my detention in this country, I am deprived of every possible means to give an account of my actions; and my character stands exposed, after an intricate and unsuccessful campaign, to all the aspersions and erroneous interpretations, that the malevolent, the prejudiced, or the misinformed, may choose to cast upon it.

Such hardships of situation, whether considered severally or collectively, will, I trust, carry a weight that no ardour of hostility, or other circumstance of these unhappy times, can oppose.

In this confidence, and conscious of the favour I have repeatedly shewn the officers of the continental troops, upon far less urgent exigencies, I ask of the Congress leave for myself, the officers of my family, whose names and ranks are transmitted herewith, and my servants, to return to England, by Rhode island, New York, or any other expeditious route the Congress shall appoint. I am ready to renew my obligations, if thought necessary, to all the stipulations of the convention of Saratoga; and scorning to withdraw myself upon less reasons than life and honour, from any possible lot of my profession, I am willing to give a parole, that should the suspension of embarkation be by any means prolonged beyond the time apprehended, I will return to America upon demand of the Congress; and due notice given, redeliver up my person into their power, and abide the common fate of my brethren in this army.

I am, &c. &c.

J. BURGOYNE.

January

January 14, 1779.

The hon. Admiral *Keppel* (a member) being at this time on his trial, Mr. Buller, from the admiralty, presented to the House the following copy of a warrant by the commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c

WHEREAS we have issued our order to Sir Thomas Pye, Admiral of the white squadron of his Majesty's fleet, to hold a court-martial at Portsmouth on Thursday next, the 7th of this month, for the trial of the honourable Augustus Keppel, Admiral of the blue squadron of his Majesty's fleet, upon a charge exhibited against him by Vice-Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser, for misconduct and neglect of duty on the 27th and 28th of July last, in sundry instances therein mentioned; and whereas we think proper that you should take the said Admiral, the honourable Augustus Keppel, into your custody, and attend him to and from the said court; you are hereby required and directed to repair to Admiral Keppel, and acquaint him therewith: but as it is not our intention that he should be put under any greater inconvenience or confinement than is absolutely necessary, you are to take his honour for his appearance at Portsmouth on or before the said 7th day of this month, and on his arrival attend him to and from the court during the continuance of his trial, and then to dispose of him as the court-martial shall direct. For which this shall be your warrant.

Given under our hands and seal of the office of admiralty, this 1st day of January 1779.

SANDWICH, T. BULLER, LISBURN.

To William Brough, Esq.

Marshal of the Admiralty, or his Deputy.

By command of their Lordships. PHIL. STEVENS.

Adjourned to January 19.

January 19.

Earl *Nugent* moved, that an account be laid before the House of all exports and their amount, of merchandise exported from this kingdom to Ireland, and of all imports from Ireland into this kingdom, from the first of January 1778 to the first of January 1779; which motion was agreed to. His Lordship explained his meaning for making this motion, by saying, that it was preparatory to the motion for leave to bring in a bill for granting further relief to the trade of Ireland, notice of which he had given before the holidays. He represented

represented the inhabitants of Ireland as being in a famishing condition, and appealed to two noble lords in administration for the truth of his assertion; and he said that a secretary of the viceroy was just come over, expressly to lay before government the deplorable state of Ireland; he referred to a letter he had received from Dr. Woodward, dean of Clogher, mentioning that all had been done that could be effected by contribution to relieve the starving poor, but in vain; employment alone could remedy the evil. He appealed to the noble lord at the head of the treasury for the truth of another observation; that the revenue of Ireland is so diminished, that it now yields little more than the expences of its civil establishment. These facts pointed the necessity, as we had lost our trade with our American colonies, of taking care we did not lose Ireland next, by a separation or invasion. If our impolitic restraints were not removed from the trade of that country, we should lose our best customers for many articles of merchandise. He said good estates in Ireland were offered to sale at sixteen and fourteen years purchase, yet no buyers appeared even at that low price.

He expected to be opposed by those who had particular interests to support against the national welfare intended by his bill; but he remembered many similar oppositions to bills which had, after they had passed, and the good effects had been experienced, been highly applauded. For instance, the bill for importing bar iron from America was strongly opposed by the parties concerned in mines and iron-works at home; yet it was found that Great Britain did not produce a tenth part of the iron wanted for consumption. He declared himself as warm a friend to England as any man in the House; and if he did not think it was promoting the interest of this country to grant Ireland relief to her trade, he would not move it, neither did he ever choose to move any thing in that House which he was not sure of carrying. He concluded with a kind of prophecy, that if Ireland was not assisted in her commerce, it might become a question there to vote a sum for the support of that country, from the insufficiency of its own revenue.

The establishment of a cotton manufactory, and leave to export the manufacture to Great Britain, with leave to export and import to and from America, the West Indies, and Africa, were the points he had in contemplation; and he concluded with saying, if all he wished could not be obtained, he must be satisfied with a part.

Hon

Hon. Colonel *Stanley* desired Lord Nugent would give as long notice as possible of the day he should bring in his bill, that his constituents might be early apprised of it, as not the town of Manchester, but all the manufacturing towns in the country, concerned in the cotton branches, were alarmed.

Sir *George Yonge* intreated the noble Earl not to hurry on a bill of such consequence, but wait for better information. He could not consider the state of Ireland in the melancholy light it had been described; but if the people really were famishing, it was not owing to the trade laws of this country, but to mismanagement in their own internal police, and desired that might be inquired into.

Right Hon. *T. Townshend* reminded the House, that by a narrow policy America had been lost, and bid them beware of losing Ireland. He declared himself impartial, not having any property in Ireland; yet he considered his property in England as dependent in a great measure on the prosperity of Ireland; and as a member of the community, he wished to remove those partial restraints on her trade, which certainly are the cause of her distresses.

There being no question before the House, the order of the day was called for, which put an end to the conversation. Read the mutiny bill, &c.

January 21.

Mr. *Jenkinson*, lately appointed secretary at war, informed the House of his intention to propose a repeal of the act of last session for recruiting the land forces; not that he objected to the basis of the bill, but because he had several alterations and additions to offer, which would make it requisite to frame a new bill. On a careful inspection, he found that similar acts to that of last year had been usually passed in all former wars; and the chief advantage arising from them, was the number of volunteers brought in, under the apprehension of being pressed, if they did not enter voluntarily: he was therefore of opinion, that every possible encouragement should be held forth to volunteers, that pressing might be rendered the less necessary.

The act of last year, in his opinion, did not offer all the advantages to volunteers that might be expected, and it was owing to this that it did not succeed. Upon this account he had studied every probable plan to render the service more eligible to free recruits; and should mention his propositions, that the House might have time to reflect on them, if leave should be granted him to bring in a bill, during its progress.

It

It was his intention to make the reception of the bounty more easy, by enlarging the powers of the commissioners of the land tax, and enabling them to pay it into the hands of the commanding officer. He would likewise make a clear distinction between the pressed man and the volunteer, in the limited time of service. The pressed man should be obliged to serve five years, but the volunteer only three, or during the war; then to obtain his discharge, and be exempted from serving compulsively in any line of military duty whatever. He would also allow volunteers the same privilege as an encouragement that was granted to the soldiers as a reward for services in the last war; they should be free, after their three years service, or upon a peace, to set up any trade or art in any corporate town in Great Britain. The standard for size, and the age intitled to the bounty, should be altered to five feet three inches, and sixteen years of age. He took notice of the great bounties given for men by the owners of privateers, which had hurt the recruiting service last war; but he expressed his hopes that the privileges to be offered by the new bill, which could not be granted by the owners or captains of privateers, would make volunteers prefer the King's service. In fine, he moved, "That leave be given to bring in a bill to repeal the act of the last session of parliament for recruiting his Majesty's land forces, and to substitute better provisions in lieu thereof."

Colonel *Barré* expressed his hearty concurrence, and was glad to find an idea of his own adopted, with respect to the time limited for the duration of the service of volunteers. This gentleman and Mr. Townshend wished the measure had been proposed before the holidays, that the bill might have been in a forward state, and printed for the use of the members, and their consideration during the recess.

January 21 and 22.

No debate. Adjourned to January 25.

January 25.

Call of the House put off to February 11.

Mr. *Townshend* observed, that the call of the House had of late been little attended to; he hoped and wished the order of the House might now be enforced.

In committee on Mr. Jenkinson's recruiting bill.

Upon a motion for reading it paragraph by paragraph,

Mr. *Turner* declared his sentiments against proceeding any further in this bill, because he looked upon it to be a pressing bill, and not a recruiting bill, and he could not reconcile it to

his

his conscience that any legislature had a power to make pressing legal. The sense of the committee being to proceed, the bill was read paragraph by paragraph, and occasioned a mixed conversation.

Sir George Yonge proposed that the attendance of the recruiting officers on the magistrates at the quarter session should be compelled by a clause in the act.

Mr. Jenkinson contended, that it had always been left to the war-office to punish officers for any neglect of duty; and the committee rejected the clause.

Mr. Grenville proposed, that more notice should be given to the magistrates of the times of meeting to carry the act into execution; a clause was inserted accordingly. And moved, that persons convicted at the quarter sessions, of having run away from their wives and children, and were punishable, by transportation or hard labour, for such offence, as incorrigible rogues, by statute of 27th George II. should in lieu thereof be delivered to the recruiting officer; and if able bodied men, be deemed to all intents and purposes enlisted; and that the recruiting officer should pay to the overseers of the poor of the parish 40s. towards the maintenance of his family. This clause also passed.

Sir George Savile, *Mr. Macdonald*, the *Solicitor General*, and *Mr. Moreton*, were for extending the age of able men from 16 to 50, instead of 45, as it stood before; this alteration was carried.

Sir George Yonge moved for excepting married men, having three children, from being impressed.

In reply, it was said, that such married men were in general more profligate, debauched, and idle, than single men; deserted their families, and left them chargeable to the parishes. Objections being made to the age of 16, that youth of that age had not arms long enough to manage common muskets, *General Conway* and *Sir William Howe* said, that such youths, being in a growing condition, were the best recruits the army could have. The bill was ordered to be reported.

Upon a motion of *Sir Herbert Macworth*, the qualification of the Welch commissioners of the land-tax, which used to be only 50l. was made 100l. He thought the former sum degrading the Welch gentlemen; and as they were to execute this law in common with the English commissioners, their qualifications should be the same.

January 26.

Mr. Orde brought up the report of the recruiting bill.

Sir.

Sir *Charles Bunbury* rose and said, he took the liberty of then addressing them, and he was the rather assured of the indulgence and patience of gentlemen, because he so very rarely called upon them to exercise either the one or the other. His sentiments, he protested, arose from no factious view, no wish to oppose government, no desire to gratify party; they were the sincere sentiments of his heart, the offspring of his feelings, unprompted, untutored, and uncommunicated. Such as they were he submitted them to the judgment of the House.

He did not by any means approve of the principle of the present bill, which was confessedly calculated to recruit our armies for the purpose of carrying on a ruinous, offensive war in America; a war which, in his opinion, ought for every reason of policy and humanity to be abandoned. If we wished to retrieve ourselves from our desperate situation, and to avoid impending ruin, the only means of effecting so desirable an end consisted, not in recruiting our armies, but in recruiting our councils. Enlist new ministers, and pursue new measures. Not that he meant to have it understood that he was one of the general herd of complainers, or that he considered our past misfortunes as an incontrovertible proof of the want of wisdom in administration. He had no such idea; on the contrary, he knew that several of those who were employed in the first offices of government were men of sound judgment, unimpeachable integrity, and extensive talents; but when he considered the tremendous state of national affairs, he thought that all the men of abilities, let them be of what party they would, should be called upon for their advice and assistance. He therefore wished most anxiously that gentlemen would forego their animosities, their prejudices, and their passions; that a coalition of parties might take place, and unanimity of sentiment might once more prevail. From unanimity and the exertion of a general zeal to save the kingdom, he said, he alone expected that immediate ruin could be avoided. He had little skill as an artist; but there were great and masterly painters on both sides the chair; the picture of the country which had been more than once drawn by the *Salvator Rosas* of the opposite side of the House was a capital exhibition; it was grand and sublime, but dreadful and alarming. The honourable gentleman who proposed the bill was a more flattering artist, and had given a very different view indeed of the same country. If the likeness was not so striking, if his outline was not so true and accurate as that of the gentleman of the opposite school, he had amply compensated for this trifling defect, by a richness of colouring, a brilliancy of sky, a glow of tints which would have
done

done honour to a Claude Lorrain. He was no painter, but something like his brother, though with inferior powers of pencil; any thing therefore that he should attempt to delineate, would be found to be a mere sketch, a rough outline, and a rude daubing*. To drop all further metaphor, he was far, as he had before said, from thinking all the present ministry wanting in capacity. The noble Lord in the blue ribbon was possessed of a sound understanding, an honest mind, and most respectable abilities. The learned gentleman, who had lately left that House in consequence of his promotion to a high office, he had often listened to with pleasure. His manly sense, quick discernment, profound sagacity, and great professional knowledge; his love of justice, and his firmness of mind, qualified him in the fullest manner to be the adviser of his King, in a moment of so much danger, and in which the counsel of wise and upright men was so essentially necessary as at present. When he considered the gentlemen on the opposite side of the House, he saw among them men of the first abilities, and men whose talents might at this crisis be exercised equally to their own honour and the service of the state.

Sir Charles then spoke of the talents of three gentlemen of the opposition [Mr. Burke, Mr. Dunning, and Mr. Fox,] in terms of the highest panegyric. The fruitful imagination of the first, his brilliancy of thought, powerful eloquence, strict integrity of conduct, and refined delicacy of sentiment, he said, pointed him out as a fit person to be employed in government. With regard to the second, his great knowledge of both professional and political affairs, his keen and penetrating perception, his sound understanding, his unsullied honour, and his wise decisions upon every point he spoke to, rendered him essentially qualified to assist in restoring the lost dignity of Great Britain; and as almost every man in that House, as well as almost every man without doors, when he thought either his person, his property, or his fame in danger, ran eagerly to him, and solicited his assistance and protection, he saw no reason why his country should not have the benefit of his great abilities as well as individuals.

Of the third gentleman he spoke in the following words:

There is another ornament of his country, a gentleman with whom I have the honour and happiness to live in the most familiar habits, of whose extraordinary talents you are daily witnesses, but whose real character (disfigured by calumny,

* Sir Charles pursued his metaphorical allusion to painting for a considerable time.

lunny, and those shameful and unfounded aspersions which flow daily from an unrestrained and licentious press) is yet unknown to you. Permit me, impelled by the partiality of friendship, and still more by a zeal for truth, to shew to you, and through you to his country, this valuable man in his proper colours, that you may know to whom to look for assistance in this hour of peril and calamity. To dwell on the shrewdness of his understanding, on the liberality of his exalted mind, on his rapid and unerring judgment, on his convincing and overpowering oratory, were to mispend your time. Of his talents you are daily witnesses: you are unanimous admirers. But believe me, gentlemen, he merits not your admiration only; he is deserving of your respect, of your most affectionate regard: he resembles not those splendid pebbles which ingenious industry renders glittering at a distance, but whose lustre fades as you approach them: like the genuine diamond, he is more brilliant on a closer inspection; his amiable qualities are captivating, and uncommon as his intellectual ones; those of his heart as superior as those of his head; unlike the generality of mankind, his excellence is more apparent to those who see him in his unguarded moments, and, in defiance of the levelling maxim of Rochefoucault, he is a hero, even to his valet de chambre.

Having carried his eulogium on these three gentlemen very far, Sir Charles recurred to his original position, that our army was sufficiently numerous, if wisely directed, to defend our present possessions. That if it was deemed advisable, in the exhausted state of our finances, to make further exertions, in his opinion, the first object was our navy, on the power and superiority of which the existence of this country depended. Sailors were more wanted than soldiers; good counsellors more even than sailors; we needed not able-bodied recruits, but able-minded ministers, who, by properly employing and directing the forces of England, would render the burthen some increase of them unnecessary. On that ground he objected strongly to the principle of the bill, which held out unheard-of rewards, immunities to entice the labourer from the plough, and the manufacturer from the loom, to increase an army, the enormous expence of which we at present groaned under.

Mr. Martin. During the few years I have had the honour of sitting in Parliament, I have never presumed to trouble the House but once. I was then heard with a patient indulgence, for which I now return my most hearty thanks. Sir, I should be very sorry if it could be thought that I was

then so vain or so foolish as to imagine that a person of my humble abilities could give either advice or information to this assembly; but, Sir, I think these are very serious times, when every man who harbours honest sentiments must wish to publish and avow them. I hope, therefore, I shall not be censured as abusing the favour of the House by endeavouring to say a very few words on the present occasion.

Sir, I most heartily agree with an honourable gentleman who spoke yesterday in the committee upon this bill, in what he said on the subject of pressing. I think, Sir, no power whatever can make that practice legal; and I think it particularly hard, that a class of men, to which, perhaps, this nation is more obliged for its defence than any other, I mean, Sir, the common sailors, should be subject to such inhuman usage. Sir, upon this principle I am strongly against the bill, and I am also as strongly against it as in any degree assisting to support the American war.

Sir, I have once fully declared my steadfast abhorrence of that war; but as I think gentlemen seem lately to have forgotten the question of right, and only to argue on the practicability of it and the prospect of its success, I shall beg leave to repeat, that I hold it to be one of the most impolitic, unreasonable, unjust and tyrannical wars that can possibly be imagined. It was begun and has been continued on rank Tory principles; on the idea of forcing men to raise money contrary to their consent, and in a manner opposite to what they thought right. Sir, the world is now so far enlightened that, I believe, there are but few persons who dare publicly avow the true genuine Tory doctrines of indefeasible right and non-resistance; but though they may be much ashamed to own such notions, the practice of many shews that such notions are but too well entertained in their private thoughts: however, I shall venture to say, that an avowal of such tenets would be nonsense too gross for idiots, and language too base for slaves. Sir, I have heard the popularity of this war contended for. I would pay all due deference to popular opinions, but I am persuaded that there are two words that operate in this country like a charm; I mean the two words, "Old England." Sir, I love Old England as I ought to love her, but I think that she can be as capricious, as ill-tempered, and as tyrannical as any other old lady whatever; nay, Sir, I think she is so old as not merely to border upon dotage, but to have given for several years strong proofs of insanity. Sir, I remember to have heard it very nobly said by an honourable gentleman, whom I don't see in his place, but whom I respect
full

full as much for the goodness of his heart as for his very brilliant abilities, that he would never sacrifice his opinion to friendship. Sir, I greatly honour that sentiment, but I should be for carrying it farther; and I flatter myself that the honourable gentleman will agree with me, when I declare, that I would not sacrifice my opinion even to my country. Sir, I sincerely lament, as an Englishman, the great disgraces we have incurred, and the heavy losses we have sustained, in this unhappy business, the many able and gallant officers, and the thousands of brave men under their command, who have been sacrificed to the thirst of power in our ministers. No man can have a higher sense of the merit of most of those who have fought our battles than myself; but having said this, I shall with equal freedom declare, that I had rather we should suffer these losses, and ten times greater, nay, any losses whatever, than succeed in what I think an unjust attempt on the liberties of any part of mankind. I therefore, Sir, am sincerely glad that we have not succeeded, and heartily wish and most devoutly pray that we never may succeed; if we should, I think our liberties at home would be but of short duration; and, for my own part, I cannot see half the evil in a failure that would ensue if we, or rather if the ministry should carry their point. In case of failure we lose, it's true, a considerable part of the empire; but I no more believe that the individuals of a nation are happy in proportion to its extent of territory, than I believe that particular persons are happy in proportion to their riches. Sir, as to the unreasonableness of the Americans in not making peace with us on our offering to remove their grievances, I answer, that we most insolently and repeatedly refused to do so at the proper times, and now more insolently and most absurdly offer it when we ought to know that they cannot agree with us without the basest treachery to that powerful nation which has been the first to enter into alliance with them. I say farther, Sir, that this country has by its oppressive and tyrannical proceedings forfeited its right to govern Americans, and that, upon revolution principles, they act nobly and bravely in shaking us off. I shall comfort myself, Sir, in the reflection that I have in no degree concurred in this business, but that I have, on the contrary, constantly opposed it; and also, in the consideration that the events of this war will be glorious lessons to kings and ministers to be satisfied with such a power as is consistent with the good-will of the people governed. Sir, according to my idea, we have been fighting for a foolish etiquette;

for what should we have lost in suffering the Americans to tax themselves? Please, Sir, to observe the difference between their situation and ours. Should we by granting their petitions for self-taxation (even supposing they had no absolute right to demand it) I say, should we by granting their petitions have become slaves? Certainly not; but if we enforce on them what they think we have no right to enforce, they become slaves (in their own opinions at least) most perfectly, which, to liberal minds, is worse than death.

Sir, I am not one of those who blame ministers for want of success in this war. Every one knows that the wisest and the best of men may have not only ill-success repeatedly, but a long and constant series of it: had they justice, humanity, or generosity on their side, I should wish them every good event that could befall them. Sir, I am sure I have no personal dislike to any of the gentlemen who are supposed to have the conduct of public affairs. I am hardly known even by sight to any of them. I believe some of them to be men of very respectable and amiable characters in private life; but however conscious they may be of having acted in public matters to the best of their abilities, I own, I am surprised at their consummate confidence in holding the reins of government after such a continuance of unprosperous guidance. Sir, I protest I am most totally disinterested, I mean as a private man, in the establishment of a ministry. Whoever may be in power will be unsolicited by me for places and emoluments. Sir, I thank God for giving me a disposition to be perfectly satisfied with a comfortable competency, and I shall endeavour to educate my family in the same principles of moderation. Was I so unhappy as to be necessitous, I perhaps should yield to temptation as easily as any one; but this I am sure of, that the last act of meanness I would be guilty of to repair a broken fortune, should be to prostitute myself to venality within these walls. Sir, I should as soon think of lurking in the avenues of the House as a petty pilterer, as I would barter the interests of the public or my constituents for any thing a minister could grant me, or for any private advantage or emolument whatever. Ambition, Sir, as the word is generally understood, is entirely out of my line of life; but, Sir, I own I have an ambition, and of which I am not ashamed; it is to be an honest, independent, useful member of Parliament; and I solemnly protest, I had rather deserve that character and should be more proud of it than of any post of honour or profit the King has to give. If

I may

I may be allowed, Sir, to adopt a French military expression, I think we, as members of the British senate, want what they call *l'esprit de corps*; we have not that noble enthusiasm which should animate the representatives of the majesty of the people. Indeed, Sir, it is not to be wondered at that we should want that enthusiasm, if we consider the manner in which most of us are chosen into this assembly by every sort of undue influence, and with very little or no personal acquaintance with our constituents. But, Sir, a man in these days, who should profess that he seeks no private advantage by sitting in Parliament, would be censured as a hypocrite, or laughed at as a fool; be that as it may, Sir, I had rather have the well-grounded approbation of my own mind, than the false applause of the whole world beside.

To return, Sir, to the question: can it be imagined that the Americans will ever make any reasonable terms with us, whilst our affairs are conducted by those who have heaped such wrongs upon their heads, and who still avow those wrongs in spite of conviction and all the losses and difficulties they have met with? I find, Sir, another solemn fast proclaimed, and a form of prayer enjoined for the success of our arms. I wish to know, Sir, what pains or penalties I may be subject to on disobedience to this proclamation, for disobey it I certainly shall, as a proclamation is not the law of the land? If government dares to enforce it, let it be enforced—if not, the proclamation itself is ridiculous and contemptible. Sir, I would as soon worship the devil as pray to an all-righteous Being for success to oppression. That great Being has so far baffled all our attempts, and I trust will continue to frustrate them, so long as we wage war in iniquity, and are deaf to the calls of policy, humanity, and justice. As I have the highest respect for true religion, I condemn from my soul those, who under pretence of supporting government, join in proceedings diametrically opposite to the spirit of christianity, which, so far from authorising violence and wrong, constantly enjoins patience, long suffering and forbearance. I cannot imagine in what part of the New Testament many of our learned prelates have found out that it is recommended to carry fire, sword, and devastation amongst our fellow creatures, even supposing we had every pretence of right on our side. I have always thought that christians should rather gain men by persuasion and mildness, than by violence of any kind. But an ignorant layman must not presume to decide upon matters within the jurisdiction of the independent, disinterested, and self-

denying bench of bishops, who are totally free from all worldly-mindedness, and have nothing in view but the peace and happiness of mankind, and the advancement of christianity in all its gentleness and simplicity. Sir, there are some few of that bench whom I highly revere for their love of a free constitution and a general toleration. Sir, I wish not to give offence to any man or any set of men. I mean nothing personal, but speak my real sentiments, with a hearty wish that corruption and undue influence of every sort may be driven from our government; that all honest men may unite in promoting the public welfare, and in disclaiming the virulence of party heats and illiberal animosities. For my own part, Sir, however warmly I may express myself on this occasion, those gentlemen who are present, to whom I have the honour to be known, will do me the justice to believe that in private life I am not inclined to be censorious. I love to praise rather than to blame, and I am sure, in this respectable assembly, I should particularly avoid falling into indiscreet and groundless abuse. Sir, it may be said, that I have constantly voted in opposition with a most punctual conformity. It is perfectly true, and I hope I shall continue to do so as long as any measure tending, however indirectly, to this American war is to be promoted; but I can say with the greatest truth, that was even this administration engaged in any worthy scheme of public benefit, I should lend them my feeble assistance with more pleasure than I can possibly find in vainly attempting to prevent, with a respectable, tho' not numerous minority, their pernicious plans. Sir, as I said before, I disclaim taking any delight in hearing the ministers and their measures condemned, however they may deserve it, and however necessary it may be. Indeed, Sir, could I have any satisfaction in the idea of their feeling it and mending in consequence, it might be some consolation; but whatever sensibility they may have had originally, I think they must long ere this have become perfectly callous. I, Sir, therefore wish that many gentlemen near me would not waste that eloquence they so much excel in, on those who are not capable of being affected by it, but leave them to the just condemnation of their own minds, and the contempt and detestation of an injured public. Sir, I have thought it right to say thus much to disburthen my mind and in justification of my parliamentary conduct. Tho' not a very young man, I have had but few years experience in national business. This, joined to the sense of my slender talents, to compensate for the want of that experience, has often kept me

me silent when I have heartily wished for abilities openly to express what has passed within me. I am sure, Sir, the attempt I have now made has cost me very dear, for I can never rise in this House without the greatest awe, notwithstanding the generous allowance which is constantly made to those who have the same plea for it with myself. If I have said any thing indiscreetly or unwarrantably, I shall hope for pardon, and that it will be imputed rather to a want of judgment than of upright intention and the warmest zeal to perform my duty. I abhor seditious, riotous proceedings, and wish to be zealously loyal to the constitution on the one hand, but on the other, I should be both sorry and ashamed tamely to acquiesce in a patient submission to destructive measures. I wish to live quietly under a free government, as established by our excellent constitution; but I would wish that government always to consist of a prince delighting more in a just and well-grounded popularity than in unlimited power; of peers loving independence and the applause of their country better than lucrative places and court servility; and of a House of Commons freely chosen and composed of true and zealous patriots. Sir, I am persuaded that all these blessings are not to be enjoyed by us till some great reform can be made in the exorbitant fees, perquisites, and salaries of certain offices. I, Sir, know very little of the value of places, but it seems to be universally allowed that there are many employments, and some sinecures, to which such profits are annexed as are out of all proportion to the duty or dignity of them. Sir, I shall be much obliged to any gentleman who will set me right if I advance any thing erroneously; but I have heard that an auditor of the exchequer, a paymaster of the forces, a treasurer of the navy, and some others, have such opportunities of making immense fortunes, that as long as there are men in the world, who estimate happiness in proportion to wealth, so long must such offices be temptations too strong for persons of common virtue to resist. Sir, I cannot sit down without saying, that I hope some gentleman of weight and abilities, equal to such a task, will take these matters into consideration, and that they will find all the support and encouragement that such an undertaking would deserve. I also hope, that if there should be any new arrangement of a ministry, that the greatest attention will be given to the characters of those who are to compose it, as well as to their abilities, for I need not inform

this House, that great abilities if employed to wicked purposes may be infinitely more detrimental to the public, than any want of capacity whatever. If gentlemen really think that this country is in that melancholy situation so much complained of, the greatest exertions should be made by every rank of persons and in every department of the state, to reform all abuses, private and public, and to restore us to prosperity, dignity and virtue.

January 27, 28, 29.

No debates.

January 30.

Decollation of Charles I.

January 31, Sunday.

February 1.

Private business.

February 2.

Last day of petitions for private bills.

February 3 and 4.

No debates.

February 5.

Mr. *Jenkinson* took notice that the clause in his bill respecting the power vested in justices of the peace having been objected to, he had taken the opinion of some learned gentlemen of the law, who had declared that the clause did not give any improper or unconstitutional power to private justices, for they could not impress any man as a vagrant without the consent of the whole bench of magistrates, after they had examined and found him to fall within the description of the act.

Mr. *Turner* said, he must repeat his protest against the bill, which he considered as totally inexpedient, and as one of the bad consequences of the American war. He complained of the heavy expence of raising men for this unfortunate service in times like these; he said, he had a very good estate, but loaded as we are with taxes, and the prices of every necessary of life considerably enhanced, nobody could pay all the demands which the extravagance of the times brought on. He therefore advised ministry to recall the troops from America, to employ them at home, and then with the militia there would be force sufficient to defend us from our natural enemies without this pressing or recruiting bill.

The amendments were agreed to.

Sir

Sir *Charles Bunbury* laid before the House the miserable state of our police, in consequence of the information on the table, respecting the felons in the several gaols of this kingdom.

By these papers, he said, it would appear that the act, called the Hulk Act, or that for employing convicted felons in hard labour on board the hulk, had proved an impracticable act; for many of the gaols were crowded with prisoners, who have been sentenced to this punishment, some for three, others for five, and others for seven years, but cannot be sent on board, because there are too many there already; and the want of room and proper conveniencies in most of the gaols to keep them, for the time they are sentenced to hard labour, occasions such scenes of cruel neglect and misery as are shocking to humanity, and repugnant to sound policy. Many of these poor wretches are allowed only one penny loaf a day, others two-pence, according to the regulations of the sheriffs in the different counties. Great numbers of female convicts were likewise confined, and most of them without any labour, for want of proper room, particularly in Newgate, Clerkenwell, and at York.

He therefore moved, that the returns of the state of the gaols, and number of felons in them, be referred to a committee of inquiry; that it be an instruction to the committee to consider if it may not be proper to recommend it to the directors of the East-India company, to take some of the male convicts as soldiers; if it might not be proper to revive the old salutary law for transporting them; and if they might not be sent, especially the female, to the West Indies, or to a part of the continent of Africa: and finally, that the said committee do inquire into the management of the prisoners on board the hulk in the river.

Sir *George Yonge* expressed his approbation of the motion; said he had never given his consent to the Hulk Act, but as an act of necessity, on account of the situation of America, which had put an end to the contracts for transporting them; and he did not doubt if it was restored even at this time, persons would be found to transport them to other parts of the world, more for the benefit of society, than the present mode of punishment.

Mr. *Luttrell* said, the Hulk Act was not a good one, even as a temporary measure: it was like all the other plausible plans of the noble Lord at the head of the treasury, and had failed like the rest; but the point which chiefly called him
up

up was to remark, that on the sending convicts to Africa, if done at an improper season, not one in an hundred would survive their arrival.

Adjourned to February 8.

February 8 and 9.

No debate. Adjourned to February 11.

February 11.

The House called over.

February 12.

Lord *Mulgrave* acquainted the House that application had been made to the admiralty, by the members composing the late court-martial at Portsmouth, complaining of the hardship and inconvenience in subjecting them to confinement during a trial, without being permitted to depart from it till the trial is over. In this memorial they acknowledge they did not suffer so much on the trial of Admiral Keppel, from its being on shore, yet the inconvenience of being confined even to a house for such a number of days was a hardship. Lord *Mulgrave* stated to the House that the same complaint had been made by the members who composed the court-martial on the trial of Admiral Byng, after the trial was over, and the admiralty of that time had wrote a civil letter upon the occasion, but had done nothing to remedy the grievance, which he thought of a very serious nature; and as neither the officers on a court-martial in the land service, nor the judges in any other court were subject to such a restraint, he moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend the act.

Mr. *Townshend* expressed his concurrence in the motion, especially as the memorial of complaint came from so respectable a body as the members of the late court-martial, gentlemen whose characters and conduct he believed stood in the highest degree of veneration in the eyes of the people of this country, for their late glorious decision; at the same time he could not help observing, that when the bill for the particular purpose of trying Admiral Keppel on shore was before the House, he himself had proposed to introduce into it a clause to relieve the members from the confinement now complained of, from the many representations that had been made of the severity of it at former trials; but he was then over-ruled by the noble Lord who made the present motion.

Lord *Mulgrave* apologised for opposing it at that time, because he meant general relief, which he thought would be best introduced by amending a general bill; besides, he thought

thought it could not be settled without obstructing the progress of a temporary bill, intended to be got through the House in one day. His Lordship added, "though I do not know whether it be proper to mention it to this company, yet to quiet the minds of the people, I inform the House, that Sir Hugh Palliser no longer has a seat at the Admiralty board; his resignation was accepted this morning."

The motion was agreed to.

Col. *Barré* rose next, and in the most feeling, pathetic manner addressed the House, hoping he should be permitted, after what had just fallen from the noble Lord, to read a paper in his hand; he then read the sentence of the court-martial on the honourable acquittal of Admiral Keppel, and the short speech of the president on restoring his sword to him; here he paused, and then said, I will not say a word more, but shall present this paper for the approbation of the House, being assured of their general concurrence. He then read, and handed to the chair the following motion:

"That the thanks of this House be given to the Honourable Admiral Augustus Keppel, for his distinguished courage, conduct, and ability, in defending this kingdom in the course of the last summer, effectually protecting its trade, and more particularly for his having gloriously upheld the honour of the British flag on the 27th and 28th of July last."

Sir *George Savile* seconded the motion. Agreed to.

Sir *Philip Jennings Clerke* then made his motion for leave to bring in a bill to restrain all persons having contracts either in their own names, or by any friend for their benefit, with the treasury, the navy, or any other public office under government, from sitting as members of that House. He declared his intention was to preserve the independency of the House, as the only means of preserving our excellent constitution. He complained of the influence of contractors on elections, from the power they had of making promises of provision for votes in subaltern departments under them; he remonstrated against the power of a first lord of the treasury, who at a time when the nation was exhausted with taxes, and borrowing money on the most disadvantageous terms, could bestow 30 or 40,000*l.* on a favourite contractor; and if 40, why not 80,000*l.* He mentioned a variety of abuses in the contractors for serving the army in America, particularly one with respect to hay; and he complained of the manner of disposing of a late contract offered by advertisement to the lowest bidder, that is, the person who shall offer to serve government on the cheapest terms: yet, the proposals sent to

the treasury had been opened there, and so managed during a whole week before any answer could be obtained by the several proposers, that it was evident it was meant from the beginning to give it, as all other things had been given, to North Britons; a Simon Frazer had the contract, and because the sum contract was not sufficient, Mess. Muir and Atkinson had a part of it.

Lord North in reply was warm; he said the proposals all came to the treasury, sealed up in consequence of the advertisement; that they were all opened together, and given to the clerks to make calculations, and to point out who offered the cheapest terms upon the whole: It was found that Mr. Frazer's were the lowest, and therefore, according to the terms of the advertisement, his proposals were accepted; and he gave undeniable security. Sir Lawrence Dundas was one; the treasury knew of no fraud; if there was any, and the honourable member could produce evidence of the fact, he should thank him; the treasury board would thank him for the information; if any clerk was guilty of any collusion, he would be severely punished. As to abuses in the execution of the contracts, he could only say the treasury was always ready to hear complaints, and to prosecute contractors, if they were well founded. His Lordship was against the motion, because such a bill would throw government entirely into the hands of selfish men, by obliging them in all cases to submit to advertising, and the public would be worse served.

Sir Philip Jennings Clerke still adhered to his point, that the disposal of the contract to Mr. Frazer was collusively managed by the clerks of the treasury, though it might have been too trifling a concern for his Lordship to look into minutely.

Mr Alderman Harley said, he had millions of the public money passed through his hands, in consequence of his contract with government; and when a committee had been appointed last year to inquire into the expenditure of the public money, he had brought his accounts made up to the time, and there they were now lying on the table; and though many insinuations had been thrown out against him, yet these accounts had never yet been examined; it would not take the committee two days; and till it was seen if he had defrauded the public in his conduct, he thought it was condemning him, or any man, unheard, to deprive him of his seat in Parliament, merely because he served government in the way of his profession. One merchant might import large quantities of hemp, another of iron or naval stores; to whom were they to sell them, but to government? and was a man to be deprived of the

the honour of a seat in Parliament on that account? Numbers of persons he could point out, some in both Houses, who either by profession, marriage, or descent, were concerned in some branches of commerce, which would subject them to the exclusion intended by this motion, for what were they but contractors? Some had gunpowder mills, others iron works, others cannon founderies; nay, the gentlemen whose estates were covered with oaks, felled them and sold them to the navy; the others sold their articles to the office of ordnance; and in this light he made them all appear to be contractors. As to influence at elections, the promises of titles and honours tempting men's ambition, was as much to be dreaded as any other. [He was several times called to order.] He concluded by saying, as the honourable gentleman was an old sportsman and loved hunting, he wished he had singled out a stouter deer from the herd of contractors, who might have offered him a good chase.

Sir *Philip* replied, he thought he could not have fixed upon a stouter than one who had made 37,000*l.* in one year, by one contract.

The House divided; for the motion 158; against it 143.

February 15.

Lord *Newhaven* moved, that a committee of the whole House be appointed to sit on the 25th instant, to take in consideration all the trade laws in Great Britain which affect the trade of Ireland.

Hon. Col. *Stanley* moved, that the consideration of this motion be put off to this day six months. A conversation ensued, in which great pains were taken on the one side to paint the distresses of Ireland in such strong colours as to make it necessary to give her a free trade, without any restrictions, as the only method of preventing the loss of that kingdom, or a formidable rebellion there; and on the other, to shew that the general alarm which such a proposition as that now made would spread all over the manufacturing parts of England, might occasion a rebellion at home.

The gentlemen against the proposition did not deny that some relief should be granted to Ireland; but they did not think it expedient to grant to Ireland a participation of our woollen and cotton manufactures, which it was contended they were aiming at. The calamities of Ireland were said not to be much greater than those of England, in the manufacturing counties; and it seemed to be the general sense
of

of the House that the American war had been the cause of these distresses.

At eight o'clock a kind of compromise took place; the gentlemen in the interest of Ireland were advised to suffer the order of the day to quash the motion, and then to come on another day, with some specific proposition that would not be of so general and alarming a nature to the manufacturing towns of Great Britain. This was agreed to.

February 16.

Lord *Newhaven* said, he would, on the 25th make a motion on the trade of Ireland, of a specific nature.

Sir *George Yonge* asked what it was?

Lord *Newhaven* replied, to grant to Ireland a privilege of importing fugars from the West Indies.

Sir *Joseph Mawby* moved, that the commission appointing Lord George Germain secretary of state, be laid before the House. Agreed to.

February 17.

Mr. *Fox* took notice that it was rumoured without doors, that a court-martial was ordered on Sir Hugh Palliser, and therefore he wished to know if there was any truth in this report?

Lord *Mulgrave* replied, that Sir Hugh Palliser had sent a letter to the board of admiralty, desiring that a court-martial might be held to inquire into his conduct; upon which the admiralty wrote to Admiral Keppel, to know if he intended to bring any accusation against the vice-admiral. To which Mr. Keppel returned an evasive answer. Here the matter rested; yet he said as matters stood, in his own opinion, public justice demanded that Sir Hugh Palliser should be brought to trial, either to clear him if innocent, or to punish him if guilty.

Mr. *Fox*, in answer, was very severe on Lord *Mulgrave*, for charging Mr. Keppel with writing an evasive answer; and upon the admiralty for not using any discretionary power to delay the trial of Admiral Keppel, and now making use of every precaution, under the cloak of respect, to put off that of Sir Hugh Palliser.

Lord *Mulgrave* said the word *evasive* was the first in his thoughts; he meant it as no reflection; he might have said *inconclusive*.

Mr. *Fox* moved, that copies of all proceedings of the board of admiralty, respecting a court-martial to be held on Sir Hugh Palliser, be laid before the House. The motion

was

was agreed to. And some days after the following papers were laid upon the table.

S I R,

London, 19th of February, 1779.

I have received your letter of the 18th instant, signifying the intention of the lords commissioners of the admiralty to order a court-martial to inquire into my conduct on the 27th of July last, and to be held on the 18th of next month. But I desire you will inform their lordships, that I am advised it will be impossible for me to be prepared for it so soon as the time appointed, and that I will give you the earliest notice possible when I shall be ready. In the mean time, I request their lordships will be pleased to inform me whether Admiral Keppel has signified his intention of bringing a charge against me or not.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,
HUGH PALLISER.

Ph. Stephens, Esq.

S I R,

Admiralty-Office, 20th Feb. 1779.

I have communicated to my lords commissioners of the admiralty your letter of yesterday's date, informing them that you are advised it will be impossible for you to be prepared for your trial by the 18th of next month, the day appointed for holding the court-martial, but that you will give the earliest notice possible when you shall be ready; and requesting to be informed, in the mean time, whether Admiral Keppel has signified any intention of bringing a charge against you. In return, I am commanded by their lordships to acquaint you, that the day which was appointed for the holding the court-martial will be deferred, and that Admiral Keppel has signified it is not his intention to exhibit any charge against you for disobedience of his orders on the 27th of July last, as you will more fully see by the inclosed copy of his letter of the 18th instant, to which I beg leave to refer you.

I am, &c.

PH. STEPHENS.

Vice-Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser.

Copy

*Copy of Admiral Keppel's letter to Mr. Stephens, dated
February 18, 1779.*

SIR,

You will be pleased to inform their lordships, that the law has fixed a period, during which every man is at liberty to exhibit such charges as they may think proper.

In this instance, if their lordships mean a charge from me against Sir Hugh Palliser for his disobedience of my orders on the 27th of July last, however clear it may have appeared by the evidence on my trial, I readily answer, that I do not intend to exhibit any such charge against him.

I am, &c.

A. K.

SIR,

Admiralty-Office, 26th Feb. 1779.

I am commanded by my lords commissioners of the admiralty to desire you will transmit them, as soon as conveniently may be, a list of the names of such persons as you may think necessary to be examined as witnesses at the court-martial intended to be held for your trial, that directions may be given for their being summoned to attend.

I am, &c.

PH. STEPHENS.

Vice-Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser.

SIR,

Admiralty-Office, 26th Feb. 1779.

It appearing to my lords commissioners of the admiralty, upon perusal of the minutes of the proceedings of the court-martial lately held at Portsmouth, for the trial of the Honourable Admiral Keppel, to be highly fitting that a court-martial should be held to inquire into the conduct and behaviour of Vice-Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser on the 27th July last, the day on which his Majesty's fleet, commanded by the said Admiral Keppel, was engaged with the fleet of the French King, under the command of the Comte D'Orvilliers, and to try him for the same; and their lordships intending to order a court-martial to be assembled for that purpose, I am commanded by their lordships to send you herewith a copy of
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the minutes above-mentioned, and to signify their directions to you to prepare and transmit to them a list of the names of such persons as it may be proper to summon to give evidence at the said intended court-martial, as soon as conveniently may be, that directions may be given in due time for their attendance.

I am, &c.

PH. STEPHENS.

George Jackson, Judge Advocate of the Fleet.

S I R,

Admiralty-Office, 8th March 1779.

Having laid before my lords commissioners of the admiralty, your letter of the 5th instant, transmitting a list of such witnesses as at present appear to be necessary to be examined at the court-martial intended to be held for your trial, and desiring that the judge-advocate may be directed to have with him the original minutes taken by himself on the late trial of Admiral Keppel, it being possible that you may have occasion to resort to them in the course of your own trial, and also that Admiral Keppel's letters of the 24th and 30th of July, and 20th of August last, and likewise his Journal, may be in the judge-advocate's hands, to be produced when you shall see it necessary to call for them: I am commanded by their lordships to acquaint you, that the several persons named in the lists above-mentioned, will be ordered to hold themselves in readiness to attend the court-martial, to be held for your trial, when summoned, and that the letters and journal of Admiral Keppel will be put into the hands of the judge-advocate, to be produced as you have desired; but with respect to the original minutes taken by the judge-advocate on the trial of Admiral Keppel, I have it in command from their lordships to inform you, that it will be proper to transmit them to the person who shall preside at the court-martial, to be held for your trial, as the ground to proceed upon, Admiral Keppel having declined bringing a charge against you.

I am, &c.

PH. STEPHENS.

Vice-Admiral Sir Hugh Palliser. Town.

Sir *William Howe* said, that imputations had been thrown on himself and his brother, for not terminating the American war last campaign; the very contrary of which, he would venture to say, would appear, when an inquiry was instituted. For

this purpose he had a motion to make. It would appear whether the fault lay in the commanders of his Majesty's fleets and armies, or in the ministers of state. Whoever it was that deserved censure, he hoped would meet with it. He should therefore move, "That copies be laid before the House of all letters that passed between Sir William Howe and Lord George Germain, since the 6th of August 1775, to the 16th of November 1778."

Lord *Howe* wished to retire from all public men and public measures, but he wished at the same time to do it with honour. The King had been graciously pleased to honour the General [Sir William Howe] and himself with his royal approbation, but ministry had withheld it from them. He therefore hoped the House would be unanimously of opinion that an inquiry into the American war was necessary, in order to shew whether it was the fault of the commanders, or of administration, that it had not been closed.

Lord *North* professed great respect for the two commanders, and said, he was not to be charged with any want in his duty to them. As to their conduct in the American war, he had never censured it. He had never pronounced either the General or the noble Lord to blame in any part of it; and as to giving them the approbation of administration, no opportunity had offered for doing it, nor could he think the proposed inquiry at all necessary or expedient, and though it met with his acquiescence, it was not because it was agreeable to him, but because it was agreeable to the honourable gentleman who had moved the matter, and his noble brother.

Mr. *Burke* observed, that a confession had fallen from the noble Lord of no little value. He had admitted the two commanders had not been to blame, nor that an inquiry into the war was at all necessary or expedient, and if that really was the case, namely, that an inquiry was not necessary or expedient, there could then be no blame at all to be traced. He hoped, however, that the papers called for would be laid before the House, that justice might be done.

Governor *Johnstone* said, as a member of Parliament he had a right to express his opinion on the conduct of any person acting in a great public trust. It was in that light he had said what were his sentiments of the American war, and the commanders employed there; and he must confess, that he always had condemned the southern expedition, which he now understood to be a plan of the two commanders, and not in consequence of any instruction from home. This indeed

deed was not his own judgment, but the opinion of officers very high in the service, who were also ready to join with him in thinking, that the armaments sent out under Lord and Sir William Howe were adequate to all the purposes they were to effect. He hoped the inquiry into it would be as full as it ought to be, since the southern expedition was, in his opinion, the grand cause of the loss of our northern army under General Burgoyne, and every subsequent misfortune. He should therefore, as he had promised, second the motion. But he was no accuser. He stood up as a member of Parliament, and thought reproaches came with a very ill grace, for his having occasioned an inquiry, which those who made them long ago thought highly necessary and expedient.

Lord *Howe* hoped, as the governor did not censure the expedition to Philadelphia on his own opinion, but the sentiments of many officers, he trusted, when the proper time arrived, he would produce those officers, when he doubted not he should owe a vindication of his conduct to the good offices of his honourable friend.

Mr. *Fox* said, he could by no means assent to the opinion, that the force under the two commanders had been adequate to the end in view. He must adopt the very opposite opinion, because the force had been found inadequate. Indeed ten times the force would have been equally so. It was the force of justice that resisted them, and that was a force never to be subdued; yes, there was a time when his honourable friend, [Governor *Johnstone*] was pleased to think so, and that England, when she went against America, fought against justice. But he did not wonder at the attempts that had been made to depreciate the noble Lord and his gallant brother. Every commander was to be abused and traduced. How was a man to get into the esteem of administration? Why, he was to blacken the character of our commanders, and he was sure to succeed. On the other hand, let a man but speak well of them, and he was sure to draw the enmity of ministry upon him. Hence Sir William Howe, and his noble brother, Sir Guy Carlton, General Burgoyne, Admiral Keppel, were the objects of ministerial malignancy, and in proportion as they were written down, so was the person by whom it was done raised in the estimation of administration. Every attack upon them was made for government. But the ministry had no desire to go into an inquiry of the American war. They had had enough of trials. The

court-martial on Admiral Keppel had given them a dose. They wanted no more inquiries. It had furnished them with a text on the conduct of their own commanders, and they were sick. Yes, they were sick of it to their souls; and while a general happiness had diffused itself through all ranks, while people of all denominations were in a manner intoxicated with joy, felicitating one another at so glorious, so illustrious an event, propitious equally to the cause of virtue, and of maritime glory, those base, those treacherous; those pitiful ministers were shut up in darkness brooding o'er their horrors of disappointment. They saw not the illuminations, but retired from the transports of the world. The portly building of the admiralty wore a dismal aspect, sorrow hung about it. But the malice of administration was to check, if possible, the happiness felt on the occasion. An obsolete act of Parliament was therefore raked up, a clause resorted to, to try capitally a young man found in the most alarming act of breaking the windows of Sir Hugh Palliser's house. This act of Parliament, so seldom heard of, and never but on the most extraordinary occasions, was to be used to the conviction of this young man to-morrow morning, as he understood from very good authority. Not for breaking windows—not for hurting Sir Hugh Palliser's house, much less demolish it; but for being pleased at the acquittal of Admiral Keppel. That was the crime for which he was to be hanged—that was the crime for which he had been prosecuted with so horrid a severity—and the very counsel he had retained for his trial taken away. In whatever point of view he considered this, horror and indignation suppressed awhile all power of reproach. No language could do justice to the infamy of the proceeding. When Sir William Howe sent over the news of his having obtained a conquest (and Sir William was then called a great and able general), no pains were taken by administration to prevent illuminations. An action was brought in the court of King's Bench by a quaker for a riot and breaking of his windows. The cause came before Judge Willes. And how was it decided? The judge was of opinion that the act was to be justified by the occasion; it was thought strange that one man should be found to resist the general joy, and the jury were directed to find a verdict accordingly. If ministry would look into riots, let them go to Edinburgh, where the mob has not only obliged government to tell them, that they will not only not pass the bill in favour of popery, but will not even suffer it to be brought in. Did the attorney general proceed against Balf and Macquirk
for

for the murder of Mr. Clarke at Brentford? And yet is a boy to be tried for his life, because he was heard to halloo for Admiral Keppel, and in the tumult of his joy found to break a window or two! But why was it? Why, truly, the spirit of the people was to be depressed, and because the ministry failed in their designs to murder Admiral Keppel, the life of an unhappy youth was to be pitifully sacrificed to their resentment.

The *Attorney General* said, he rose to vindicate administration from having any share in the prosecution against the rioters. He solemnly declared, that he had received instructions from no man; that he would receive instructions from no man; that he would not pursue the prosecution merely to gratify any set of men; nor would he be forced to give it up from any consideration of fear or apprehension, though torrents of eloquence should be employed to shake him. A grand jury had found a bill against them; that he thought just ground for prosecution; he would not say more, as he did not wish to anticipate the trial, or pre-judge the matter. He had not as yet received full information of the business from the solicitor of the treasury; when he should, he would form his opinion of it; and if he should find sufficient matter against the rioters to justify a capital prosecution, nothing should prevent him, as first criminal lawyer for the Crown, to pursue it. If, on the contrary, he should find the offence of a less criminal complexion, he would drop it; but in either case, he would solely act from his own judgment, unbiassed by respect for persons, unawed by clamour or opposition.

The law, with which the honourable gentleman found so much fault, he had ever heard extolled as the bulwark of the protestant succession; it was framed at the accession of the present family to the throne, when it was as dangerous to be a whig as at present it was to be a papist in Glasgow or Edinburgh; and to that law might be ascribed the enjoyment of our present liberties. He admitted that merely breaking windows was not a capital offence, but if breaking windows, and forcing open doors were not to be punished, where was the security of our lives and properties? If a mob was to consist of masters of families, husbands, fathers, and house-keepers, he would pay some respect to them, because he did not dread the same fatal effects from the excess of their joy as from that of footmen, hair-dressers, and apprentices; their heat would soon subside. In punishing, he would pay no respect to persons; at least he would not seek for the weak and poor, and let the rich and powerful escape; he would let a

score of apprentices escape, if he could find out, and he would certainly search for them, people high in rank, who might have created the riot, by distributing money or other ways.

Mr. *Dunning* acknowledged the purposes for which the law was framed to be such as Mr. Wedderburne represented them to be; but he could not think that the learned gentleman would suppose that a law made for securing the protestant succession, should be made use of to hang people for breaking Sir Hugh Palliser's windows. It was not the law itself he disliked, but the application that was made of it. He requested the learned gentleman would weigh well the matter before he should proceed to extremities. He paid some compliments to his understanding, but could not avoid observing, that it was rather singular that he did not get his information from the solicitor of the treasury before he had gone the lengths to which he had already proceeded.

The *Attorney General* returned Mr. Dunning's compliments, and assured him there was no opinion nor advice for which he had more respect than for his; but that he ought to consider, that the law owed double protection to a person obnoxious to the populace; particularly when that person is to be tried by his country, and may be deprived, if unprotected, of the means of asserting his innocence, if he is innocent, through the fury or enthusiasm of the people.

Sir *William Meredith*. No crown lawyer, he said, had proceeded against the rioters procured to stab the constitution at the Middlesex election, though murder had been committed. On the contrary, those who had taken up the matter, and followed the prosecution to as necessary a conviction as this country every saw, were ever since looked upon as the enemies of government; yet when a young man, perhaps in the hour of rashness, had been detected in breaking a pane of glass in an uninhabited house, the attorney general had been found to prosecute him for his life, and in so doing to make a merit in point of duty to his country.

Mr. *Burke* acknowledged that every protection was due to an obnoxious person, but contended, at the same time, that the rioters had done no more than some of the first characters of the nation would have done. No one had been more extravagant in his joy, if any thing could be called extravagant on such occasion, than the great Lord Hawke was, when he heard of the sentence of acquittal; he deemed it a triumph and glory to his country, far transcending the most brilliant victory he himself had ever gained. He ascribed the prosecution to malice, resentment, and every thing that was dishonourable.

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The question was put on Sir William Howe's motion, and agreed to.

February 18.

Mr. *Wilkes* gave notice, that as soon as the thanks of the House should have been given to Admiral Keppel, he would move, that the resolution of the House of Commons in the late parliament, respecting the Middlesex election, should be expunged from the journals.

He was called to from different quarters to make his motion then; but he very politely observed, that as he intended to take the sense of the House on the motion, and that such a step must necessarily disturb the strangers of the gallery, who were assembled to be present when Admiral Keppel should receive the thanks of the House, he would decline making the motion till their curiosity should first be gratified.

The admiral at length arrived, amidst the plaudits of the people, who followed him to the very door of the House. When he had taken his seat, the *Speaker* addressed him in the following words:

ADMIRAL KEPPEL,

This House have done you the distinguished honour of ordering their thanks to be given to you, an honour never conferred but upon extraordinary merit; which thanks it is my duty to communicate to you in your place.

After having sat so long in this chair, I hope it is unnecessary to declare that I have been always happy to obey the orders of the House; and I have now a particular satisfaction in that obedience.—Indeed, every generous mind must feel satisfaction, when the day of honourable acquittal succeeds to the day of severe trial: and this pleasure, I believe, never more general, nor more sincere, than upon the present occasion.

You, Sir, was called by your Sovereign, with the approbation of all descriptions of men, particularly those of your own profession, to a station of the utmost difficulty, and of the highest importance. The safety of this country, and the honour of the British flag, were trusted in your hands, when the enemy was expected upon our coast; and, notwithstanding the most able discharge of this great and momentous trust, you was accused of misconduct and neglect of duty. But, after a very long and full investigation, by men in every respect the best qualified to judge, that charge appeared to be ill-grounded and malicious; and your judges have unanimously and honourably acquitted you, and have

further added, that your conduct on the 27th and 28th days of July last was that of a judicious, brave, and experienced officer. Surely then it cannot be matter of surprize that extraordinary marks of respect and esteem are shewn to such a character. We now know with certainty that our confidence in you was not misplaced; and we entertain a well-grounded hope that there still remain among the naval officers talents and abilities fully equal to this dangerous crisis.

Amidst this general joy, I cannot help repeating the singular pleasure which I feel in giving you the thanks of this House, which I now do, for your distinguished courage, conduct, and ability, in defending this kingdom in the course of the last Summer, effectually protecting its trade, and more particularly for your having gloriously upheld the honour of the British flag on the 27th and 28th of July last.

Upon which Admiral *Keppel* said,

Mr. SPEAKER,

It is impossible, by any expressions I can use, to do justice to my feelings of gratitude to the House, for the honour they have done me by their approbation of my conduct.

The good opinion of my fellow citizens, expressed by the representatives of the nation, cannot but be received by me as a most acceptable addition to the satisfaction I felt in the recent sentence, to which you have been pleased to allude, of a court-martial; the result of a full and deliberate inquiry, expressive of their sentiments of the subject referred to their examination, in terms equally honourable to themselves and me.

The pleasure I feel at this moment is not a little heightened by the unavoidable recollection of the very different emotions I felt when I was last in this House, and in this place.

I should be guilty of great injustice, if, on an occasion like the present, I neglected to inform this House, that my efforts for the public service, in the instances in which the House has been pleased to distinguish them, were most zealously seconded by many as gallant and able officers as the navy of England ever produced; to whose attention and spirit, next to the Divine Providence, the success of these efforts ought to be in a great measure ascribed.

I cannot sit down without returning to you, Sir, personally, my particular thanks, for the very, very obliging terms in which you have executed the commands of the House.

Ordered,

Ordered, *nemine contradicente*,

That what has been now said by Mr Speaker, in giving the thanks of this House to Admiral Keppel, together with Admiral Keppel's answer thereto, be printed in the votes of this day.

Mr. *Wilkes* moved, That the entry in the journals of the House, of the 17th day of February 1769, of the proceedings of the House, upon the return of a knight of the shire to serve in Parliament for the county of Middlesex, in the room of John Wilkes, Esq. expelled this House, might be read.

And the same being read accordingly,

A motion was made, and the question being put, That the resolution of this House, on the 17th of February 1769, "That John Wilkes, Esquire, having been, in this session of Parliament, expelled this House, was and is incapable of being elected a member to serve in this present Parliament," be expunged from the journals of this House, as being subversive of the rights of the whole body of electors of this kingdom.

The House divided ; for the motion 122, against it 202.

February 19.

Mr. *Fox* said, a report was current, that Sir Hugh Palliser had that morning resigned the lieutenancy of marines, and the government of Scarborough, he therefore desired to know, if that report was true ; because, if it was true, he would be free to confess he did not know how to act ? He had indeed come prepared with a motion on the subject of the unfortunate gentleman, but he was not willing to press hard upon him in his present situation ; he therefore would not move any thing till he should be informed.

Lord *North* said, that he had that morning received a letter from the first Lord of the Admiralty, acquainting him that Sir Hugh Palliser had resigned the lieutenancy of marines, as also the government of Scarborough, and had vacated his seat in Parliament.

Mr. *Fox* said, that this fact particularly altered his intention, but did not overthrow it entirely ; it was, he said, to him a matter of great disquiet, that his Majesty had not been advised by his ministers to dismiss Sir Hugh Palliser ; such a measure would have shewn, in some respect, a disapprobation of his conduct, and would have discountenanced the suspicions that were awake in every breast, of the prosecution's having been upheld by the ministry, and not been
perhaps

perhaps unfavourable to a person too respectable to be named: it would be impossible, he said, for any person to convince the people without doors, that administration were not the authors of the accusation against Admiral Keppel, considering how much circumstances of suspicion rested against them: it was necessary, he thought, for the honour of the King, that the prosecutor should have been dismissed from all his employments; and with that intention he had prepared a motion, after waiting a considerable time to see if ministers would have advised his Majesty to have done this, for an address to his Majesty, representing to him, that Sir Hugh Palliser had been proved, by the sentence of a court-martial, to have preferred an ill-founded and a malicious charge against his commander; and therefore such a person was very unfit to continue in any employment, civil or military, under the Crown; and praying him to dismiss him from all those he possessed. He said, the prosecutor had no more now than his rank of vice-admiral in the navy; but still he thought it necessary, for the honour of the King, that some public mark of disapprobation should be shewn, to disarm the suspicions that were upon the conduct of the ministry—the ministry, who had barely written to Admiral Keppel a cold letter on his acquittal, authorising him to hoist his flag again on board the *Victory*;—who had let the prosecutor down regularly, permitting him first to give up the admiralty, and eight days afterwards to resign two other employments, when it was suspected that a motion was to be made to strip him of them; and who, in short, had taken all possible pains to show, that they were his associates and friends. He wished not, he said, to persecute the unhappy gentleman; it was in kindness to him that he wished to make this motion, that no court-martial whatever might be held upon him, since no other purpose could be served by one than that of persecution. No court-martial could clear him of the charge of having made an ill-founded and malicious accusation; and that charge, of itself, established as it was by the sentence of the late honourable independent court, entirely disqualified him from ever serving again. He said, that a court-martial might be appointed on him at his own request, although he was dismissed from his rank of vice-admiral. We had an instance of it in the case of Lord George Sackville. At the same time, he said, he would not press his motion, if he found it was disagreeable to the House.

House. The motion was for an address to the King to dismiss Sir Hugh Palliser from the navy.

Admiral *Pigot*. Although his honoured friend, the admiral, had met with so distinguished an acquittal, much yet remained to be done for him. No disapprobation had been shewn to the prosecutor. But no court-martial, he hoped, would be had upon the conduct of the vice-admiral, since the most honourable acquittal from a disobedience of orders, could not clear him from having brought an ill-founded and malicious charge.

Lord *Howe* seconded the motion. He thought the conduct of Sir Hugh Palliser had been such as to render it impossible for him to be continued in the navy; but if he was really to be tried by a court-martial, he would not support the motion for an address to his Majesty, though he did not think but that he was even then (should the request be complied with), equally liable to be tried.

Mr. *Morton* thought any thing contained in the proceedings on the table of the late court-martial, besides the acquittal itself, to be very irregular, and could not but consider it as extremely extraordinary, that, after Sir Hugh Palliser had adopted a course of conduct for discharging himself from the imputations against him, that the House would not let him pursue it.

Mr. *Hans Stanley* thought it very hard that Sir Hugh Palliser should be pronounced to have brought an ill-founded charge before he had been convicted of the crime. No blame, he said, could lie upon administration, for that the vice-admiral had declared that whatever he had done was his own act and deed, without the participation of a second person. He then went into a metaphysical definition of the word malice, which, at length, he insisted was—a sudden impulse of the mind.

Earl *Nugent* was of opinion, that it would be an act of extreme cruelty to remove Sir Hugh Palliser from his situation as an admiral, as his bravery had not been in the smallest degree impeached.

Mr. *Burke* begged to say a few words on the pretended injustice of pronouncing Sir Hugh Palliser to have brought an ill-founded and malicious charge, because that the fact was unsupported by any copy of record, the absurdity of which being once admitted, would effectually overthrow the authority of the Parliament, which had ever exercised a power of supposing whatever was fit and reasonable for them to suppose. But the ministry were perfectly right in encouraging

encouraging the doctrine; for if they never could be impeached till, upon a legal proof of their crimes, made out by the copy of some record, no minister he would venture to say would ever be impeached. As to the idea that it would be cruel to address the King for the dismissal of Sir Hugh Palliser, because that he was to be tried by a court-martial, it was, in his opinion, highly ridiculous, and he should think it very strange, if he was not at liberty to turn a servant out of his service, because he might happen to have a highway robbery alledged against him. He then adverted to the definition given by the right honourable gentleman [Mr. Stanley] of malice, which he ever had thought to be evil propensity; and concluded, by observing, that the ministry ought to be aware how they ordered a court-martial on Sir Hugh Palliser, lest his blood should thereby be drawn upon their heads.

Lord *North* said, it would have been very improper to have censured Sir Hugh Palliser, as a court-martial was to be had on his conduct. Indeed a trial could not be ordered at his own request. It was unprecedented: But a trial there most undoubtedly would be. With respect to the imputation thrown on administration, he assured the House, that Sir Hugh Palliser never had consulted him. Indeed the charge was in itself ridiculous. Was it for the honour and interest of ministry?

Mr. *Fox* being offended at the manner the motion was opposed by the noble Lord, and the friends of administration, who, he said, not only maintained their negative upon the ground of the impropriety of coming to any resolution which might bear the appearance of affecting Sir Hugh Palliser upon his expected trial, but likewise amounted to an implied, if not a direct justification of his conduct, pressed his motion in order to collect the sense of the House. The question was on the point of being put, when

General *Conway* rose, and recommended to his honourable friend to consent to have his motion withdrawn, and pledged himself to the House, that if no other person undertook to do it, and that administration meant to adhere obstinately to the language they held this day, that of retaining Sir Hugh Palliser in the service, that he would himself take the sense of the House by motion, upon one similar to that now made.

Mr. *Fox* acquiesced, with some degree of reluctance, and the motion was withdrawn.

Mr.

Mr. *Thomas De Grey*, under secretary of state in the American department, in pursuance of the motion made by Sir William Howe (see the motion and the debate upon it, page 241), laid the following papers before the House.

Copy of a Letter from the Earl of Dartmouth to the Hon. Lieutenant-general Gage, dated Whitehall, 2d August 1775.
[Received September 26th.]

SIR,

It being his Majesty's intention that we should have, if possible, in North America, early in the next spring, an army of at least twenty thousand men, exclusive of Canadians and Indians, the proper steps are now taking for such arrangements as may be necessary to this object; and I have this day signified his Majesty's commands, that the 4th, 5th, 7th, 8th, 10th, 14th, 16th, 22d, 23d, 26th, 35th, 38th, 40th, 43d, 44th, 45th, 47th, 49th, 52d, 63d, 64th, and 65th regiments be augmented, so as that each company shall consist of three serjeants, three corporals, two drummers, and fifty-six private men, besides commissioned officers. And that each of the above-mentioned twenty-two battalions be augmented with two companies, each to consist of one captain, one lieutenant, one ensign, three serjeants, three corporals, two drummers, and fifty-six private men.

With regard to the 18th and 59th regiments, his Majesty thinks fit, upon a consideration of their weak state, that what remains of the private men fit for service should be incorporated into other regiments, and the officers and non-commissioned officers sent home to recruit: and that it should be left to your discretion to follow the same rule in the case of any other regiments under the like circumstances.

Besides four companies of artillery, which are ordered to embark immediately, in order to enable you to return to the line the men taken from thence for that service, it is resolved to send you directly a further reinforcement of 2000 men, and orders are given for the 17th and 55th regiments, in Ireland, to prepare for embarkation, the remainder of the reinforcement to be made by recruits, which we hope to raise in time; but if when the transports are ready, the number of recruits should fall short, in that case, the 27th, 28th, and 46th regiments, will be ordered to embark, or such part of them as shall be necessary to make up the full complement of 2000 men.

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The steps which you say the rebels have taken for calling in the assistance of the Indians, leave no room to hesitate upon the propriety of our pursuing the same measure. For that purpose I inclose to you a letter to Colonel Johnson, containing his Majesty's commands for engaging a body of Indians, and shall by the first ship of war that sails after the Cerberus, send you a large assortment of goods for presents, which you will contrive the means of safely conveying to the colonel.

I wish, Sir, to state to you, with as much precision as I am able, the ideas that have been formed with respect to the future plan of operations of our forces in North America. For, although your own knowledge and experience, aided by the advice and opinion of the able generals who assist you, will be far better guides to your judgment than any thing I can suggest; yet it may not be altogether useless to mark out (however incorrectly), some of the ideas of military men of knowledge and ability here, and which indeed very much corresponds with what seems to be your opinion, and that of the other officers with you.

I have already said in my letter, No. 22, of this day's date, that in the general view we have of the state of the army at Boston, and of the force of the rebels, it does not seem likely that any further operations, at least of any extent, will be undertaken this campaign. The state of the service, therefore, as it stands at present, seems to involve in the consideration of it these questions, viz.

1st. Whether we should push the war with our whole force in the next campaign, on the side of New England?

2d. Whether, viewing the whole state of America, it would not be more advisable to make Hudson's River the seat of the war, and for that purpose immediately take possession of the city of New York, with a part of our force, leaving at Boston what is necessary to secure that post, and keep up a diversion on that side?

3d. Whether, if it should be judged unsafe, or unadvisable, to take post at New York, it may not be expedient to endeavour, with a part of the force under your command, embarked on board the transports, to make an impression in other places, which, if it answered no other purpose, would at least enable you to collect a large supply of live stock and provision, which is no trifling object in your present circumstances.

And

And lastly, Whether, if neither of the measures suggested in the two last propositions can be effected, and if even Boston should not be tenable in the winter, without hazard (as many here think), it might not be adviseable that your whole army should be posted in proper divisions at Halifax and Quebec, until the events of the winter shall point out the best plan of operation in the spring?

In the consideration of these propositions, a variety of cogent reasons occur in favour of what is suggested in regard to the possession of New York; for if, by such an operation, we could recover the attachment and fidelity of that province, as many judicious and well-informed persons think we may, it would, independent of many other circumstances which give preference to this proposition, not only be of great weight in the general scale of advantage, but might also encrease our strength, by the junction of numbers, which would shew themselves upon the least appearance of protection: but I beg I may not be understood, in stating these, or any other ideas that have occurred, to intimate that the King does not leave it entirely to his generals to act according to their own judgment and discretion; and therefore I have only to add, that if we are driven to the difficulty of relinquishing Boston, care must be taken that the officers and friends of government be not left exposed to the rage and insult of rebels who set no bounds to their barbarity. And when I mention this circumstance, I must not omit to inform you, that his Majesty is graciously pleased, upon a representation made to him of the distress to which many of the members of your present council are exposed, to direct that you do, from time to time, give them such relief, and make them such allowance as you shall judge necessary, and include the expence in your contingent accounts.

If the proposition of taking post at new York is adopted, then General Howe, assisted by General Burgoyne, will, it is presumed, command on that side, in which case it is his Majesty's intention, that General Clinton should command on the side of New England; and I have only to add, that whatever disposition is made of the army under your command in consequence of what has been suggested, it will be absolutely necessary, that effectual care be taken for the protection of Halifax, which being the great repository of all our naval stores, is an object of the last importance.

I am, &c.

DARTMOUTH.

Extract

Extract of a Letter from the Earl of Dartmouth to Major General Howe, dated Whitehall, 2d August 1775.
[Received September 26th.]

SIR,

THE King having signified his commands that General Gage should return to England, to lay before his Majesty a state of his command, and to assist in the consideration of what may be necessary to the future plan of operations, I have the honour to send you his Majesty's commission, appointing you to be (during General Gage's absence), commander in chief of all his Majesty's forces employed or to be employed within the colonies lying upon the Atlantic Ocean; and have also transmitted the like commission to General Carleton, to command the forces employed or to be employed in Canada and upon its frontiers.

I have, in a separate letter to General Gage, of this day's date, stated to him very fully the King's intention with regard to the force to be employed next year in North America, and suggested many things respecting the ideas of a plan of operation.

That letter he is directed to leave with you when he comes away; and therefore I have only to add, that I am, &c.

Copy of a Letter from the Hon. Lieutenant General Gage to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated Boston, 1st October 1775.
[Received 14th November.]

MY LORD,

I was honoured with your Lordship's separate letter of the 2d of August, on the 26th ultimo, in which you are pleased to inform me of the measures that are taken, by his Majesty's command, to reinforce his army in North America, and to state certain questions concerning the operations the most adviseable to be carried on. After taking these into consideration, it remains to give your Lordship my opinion thereupon, viz.

1. Whether we should push the war with our whole force the next campaign on the side of New England?

I am of opinion, that no offensive operations can be carried on to advantage from Boston. On the supposition of a certainty of driving the rebels from their entrenchments, no advantage would be gained but reputation; victory could

not

not be improved, through the want of every necessary to march into the country. The loss of men would probably be great, and the rebels be as numerous in a few days as before their defeat; besides, the country is remarkably strong, and adapted to their way of fighting.

2d. Whether viewing the whole state of America, it would not be more advisable, to make Hudson's River the seat of war, and for that purpose immediately take possession of the city of New York, with a part of our force, leaving at Boston what is necessary to secure that post, and keep up a diversion on that side?

It has always appeared to me most advisable to make Hudson's River the seat of war; its situation between the eastern and western Colonies is advantageous; besides, being commodious in transporting the necessaries of an army. We are made to believe also, that many friends in that province would appear in arms, and the troops receive many supplies they are in want of. A communication with Canada might be better secured from thence than any other part; and, during the winter, when troops cannot keep the field, attempts might be made upon the southern provinces, by embarking in the transports. I am, however, of opinion, that the force now in Boston cannot be divided, and is too weak to hold Boston and New York at the same time.

3d. Whether, if it should be judged unsafe, or unadvisable, to take post at New York, it may not be expedient to endeavour, with a part of the force under your command, embarked on board the transports, to make an impression on other places, which, if it answered no other purpose, would enable you to collect a large supply of live stock and provisions, which is no trifling object in your present circumstances?

It would undoubtedly be of great use to make impressions on several places, were there troops sufficient to land in force so as to be enabled to stand their ground. Small enterprises of the kind we have found beneficial in collecting live stock, and may be continued whenever transports are not otherwise employed. And lastly, whether, if neither of the two last propositions can be effected, and if even Boston should not be tenable in the winter without hazard (as many here think), it might not be advisable that your whole army should be posted in proper divisions at Halifax and Quebec, until the events of the winter shall point out the best place of operation in the spring?

I am of opinion that Boston would be tenable in the winter without hazard.

Having answered your Lordship's questions, I will take the liberty to add, that it appears to me most necessary for the prosecution of the war, to be in possession of some province, where you can be secured, and from whence you can draw supplies of provision and forage, and that New York seems to be the most proper to answer those purposes. There the foundation of the war should be laid, by having troops in force, large magazines of military stores of all kinds, and the whole well fortified and secured.

The possession of Boston occasions a considerable diversion of the enemy's force, and is so far of use ; but is, at the same time, so open to attacks on many sides, that it requires a large body to defend it.

Castle William defends the channel, a circumstance of no use to us, but would be greatly prejudicial should the rebels find means to get that fortress into their hands ; on which account I have caused the sea battery to be destroyed, and have ordered the fort to be mined, in order to be blown if the troops should be ordered from Boston.

Could our troops be numerous enough to multiply our attacks, my opinion is much in favour of seizing Rhode Island. I conceive it to be easily defended, with the aid of a frigate or two, and a few small vessels of war ; and is so situated as to have an easy communication with New York, and from thence the whole coast of Connecticut, the north side of Long Island, and the western parts of Massachusetts Bay may be attacked.

By letters lately from Halifax, Governor Legge informs me, that upwards of 400 persons have associated themselves there in defence of Government. The Fowey ship of war is ordered there, and takes Lieutenant Colonel Gorham, with some recruits of his own, and Mr. M'Lean's corps, and two companies of the 14th under convoy, so that I hope, with the associators, a body will be formed of about 600 men at Halifax, exclusive of the Somerset and Fowey ships of war. I wrote there long since about entrenching the Heights above the Dock Yard and the Citadel Hill, but have no account what has been done in it.

I have the honour to be, &c.

TWO. GAGE.

Extract of a Letter from Major General Howe to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated Boston, 5th October 1775.
[Received 14th November.]

By the arrival of the *Cerberus* on the 26th ultimo, I am honoured with your Lordship's dispatch of the second day of August, inclosing a commission whereby I am appointed, in the absence of Lieutenant General Gage, to command in chief all his Majesty's forces employed or to be employed within the Colonies lying on the Atlantic Ocean.

Your Lordship may rely upon my utmost endeavours to forward his Majesty's service in the important department with which I am honoured; and I enter upon it with greater cheerfulness from the knowledge I have of the superior abilities of Major Generals Clinton and Burgoyne, upon whose support and assistance I can place the best grounded confidence in every difficulty that may arise.

Copy of a Letter marked separate, from Major General Howe to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated Boston, 9th October 1775.
[Received 14th November.]

MY LORD,

General Gage having communicated to me your Lordship's separate letter of the 2d of August last, in obedience to your Lordship's commands, I trouble you with my ideas upon the subject of the ensuing campaign. But I must beg leave to premise, that this town, without the most unforeseen accident, will be in no danger from the enemy during the winter; on the contrary, that the reinforcement of 2000 men, or five battalions from Ireland, will enable us to distress the rebels by incursions along the coast; and I hope Portsmouth in New Hampshire will feel the weight of his Majesty's arms in the course of that season.

From the present appearance and strength of the rebel army, and from the extent his Majesty's troops now occupy for the defence of this place, nothing material will probably be attempted during the remainder of the campaign.

The army will shortly have full employment, in preparing quarters for the winter, that we may get under cover by the middle of November, or sooner, if expedient. A fortification is lately begun near the extremity of the town, on the

Roxbury side, on which 600 men are daily at work, and in this state there is only a proper relief for the defence of the place. The corps upon the heights of Charles Town is also employed in securing that post for the winter.

In answer to your Lordship's first question, viz. "Whether the ensuing campaign should open from hence with the whole force?" I beg leave to say, that the opening of the campaign from this quarter would be attended with great hazard, as well from the strength of the country as from the entrenched positions the rebels have taken, from which they probably would not be found, without considerable loss on our part, and from the difficulty of access further into the country, they would have every advantage in the defence of it on their side, being indefatigable in raising field-works, which they judiciously suppose must wear us down by repeated onsets; whereas they are so numerous in this part of the country, that they would not feel the loss they might sustain in the least degree of proportion with us: neither could we prevent them from having supplies of all denominations from the southern colonies, or even preserve the communication between the army and this town without difficulty. I may add to this the considerable expences attending carriages, artillery, &c. from the want of a water conveyance from hence, except for a short distance.

Your Lordship's second query regards the division of the army for the possession of New York and this town. I am humbly of opinion that our strength at present is not adequate to the undertaking. The Generals Gage, Clinton and Burgoyne, having declared the same, I am to wait his Majesty's further pleasure on this head; in the mean time the utmost attention will be paid to the health and discipline of the troops.

If my orders shall be to leave a force here, for the preservation of the town, and to proceed with the remainder to New York, I beg leave to intimate to your Lordship, that not less than 5000 men, or eight or nine battalions, upon the proposed plan of augmentation, will be, in my humble opinion, sufficient for the service required. Such a force, having Major General Clinton at the head of it, would probably find employment for an army of 10,000 rebels.

And I would propose twenty battalions to compose the division for New York, which would be near 12,000 men: this corps to be employed in opening a communication with Canada in the first instance, leaving five battalions for the defence of the city of New York.

There

There would then remain three thousand regulars for Quebec, who, with three or four thousand Canadians, and some hundred Indians, would compose the army of Canada. But whether these numbers for Quebec would be adequate to the service required on that side, I do not presume to give an opinion.

The accomplishment of the primary object for opening the communication being obtained by the two armies, and secured by proper posts, in which operation the reduction of the rebels in the province of New York, must in some measure be included; these corps might take separate routes into the province of Massachusetts Bay, as circumstances may arise.

But I am humbly of opinion that, by the entire evacuation of this town, and taking hold of Rhode Island with the force proposed for this place, the army would be better connected, and the corps would act with greater effect on that side, from whence it might possibly penetrate into the country; whereas, in this station, it could only defend the post, and perhaps make some few incursions for fresh provisions, without the power of reducing the inhabitants. The diversion it would occasion, by drawing after it a large portion of the rebel army, would, I imagine, be equal in both situations; but being in that of Rhode Island, it would occasion such a jealousy in Connecticut, that the army, furnished by that province, would probably be kept at home for its defence.

And for the blockade of this harbour, should that measure be expedient, upon the town being evacuated, a small force might probably be entrenched with security on some commanding spot in the neighbourhood of Nantasket Road, for the convenience of the shipping, which I suppose might lay there for the purpose of blockading the port.

General Gage will have the honour of informing your Lordship of the steps he has taken for the immediate defence of Halifax.

Your Lordship having been pleased to say, that the strength of the American army for the ensuing spring shall amount to twenty thousand men; may I hope it may be composed of thirty-four battalions, of ten companies, at fifty-nine rank and file, according to the proposed plan of augmentation, which will produce the number required of regular infantry, upon whom we must depend for decision? Were it expedient to add six battalions to the thirty-four already proposed for the American army, amounting to about five thousand men, by an equal partition of them between the Canada and

Rhode Island divisions, I have no doubt of the effects being adequate to the extra expence incurred by such addition.

The early arrival of the destined reinforcement in the spring, is of such material consequence to his Majesty's service, that I am persuaded it is needless for me to trouble your Lordship with any solicitations upon so essential a point. But I should hope the troops for the Boston division may be embarked by the beginning of February, in which case they may be expected here about the time I should wish the campaign to open, in the middle or latter end of April.

I beg leave, at the same time, to request an additional number of surgeons for the general hospitals.

May I, in this place, entreat your Lordship's countenance and protection in the promotion of the additional companies for some old and experienced officers upon this duty, who, by their good services, have rendered themselves worthy of his Majesty's most gracious favour. The passing of them by at this juncture, would deprive the army of that spirit which has been so conspicuous among its officers this campaign; but as General Gage will have the honour of laying their names before his Majesty, I shall not presume to trouble your Lordship further on this subject. I am, &c.

W. HOWE.

*Extract of a separate Letter from the Earl of Dartmouth to
Major General Howe, dated Whitehall, 5th Sept. 1775.
[Received 9th November.]*

I HAVE already, in my letter to General Gage of the 2d August, which will have been left with you upon his return to England, pointed out the different ideas which had been suggested, of the plan of operations in North America next year, if the present unnatural rebellion should continue to be supported; but I did not think myself at liberty to go further in that letter, than nakedly to state the propositions themselves; and I carefully avoided appearing to have any opinion of my own upon questions of which, both from the nature of them, and the difficulty of forming any precise judgment at such a distance, and without fuller information, it was not fit for me to decide. But I ventured to describe, in general terms, not only some of the obvious advantages which would arise from taking post at New York, but also the hazard of the army's continuing at Boston in the winter.

The

The intelligence and information of every day since, have shewn more clearly both the one and the other; and the situation of the troops cooped up in a town, exposed to insult and annoyance, if not to surprize, to more places than one, deprived of the comforts and necessaries of life, wasting away by disease and desertion, faster than we can recruit, and no longer either the objects of terror or cause of distress to the rebels, is truly alarming, and demands the most serious consideration; and I am commanded by the King to say, that if no alteration for the better should have happened before this letter reaches you, or any unexpected advantages of carrying on the war on the side of New England should have opened themselves, it seems not only adviseable, but necessary to abandon Boston before the winter, to dismantle Castle William, and having embarked all the stores and artillery, and afforded every means to the well-disposed inhabitants, of getting safely away with their families and effects, to remove with the troops either to New-York or some other place to the southward, which considerations of superior advantage, safety, and convenience, shall point out as the most proper, and where a squadron of the King's ships may not only lie, but carry on operations with security during the winter.

The taking post in such a situation as I have described, holds out a prospect of many advantages, which you will better conceive than I can suggest; but I cannot avoid mentioning one, though I am persuaded it will not escape your attention, and that is, the opportunity it may afford, of employing a part of your forces during the open part of the winter in some sudden and unexpected enterprize to the southward, which, if it has not the effect to subdue, will at least strike terror to the rebellious colonies, and be the probable means of securing a supply of provisions and other necessaries for the army.

Another matter which I have touched upon in my letter to General Gage, as an essential part of his consideration, is the transmission of the most exact and particular state of every thing that will be wanted from hence for carrying on the service: and it being the King's intention that you should continue in the command next year, it is his Majesty's express direction that I repeat this to you, as a necessary and indispensable object of timely attention; and I am further commanded to add, that it is his Majesty's pleasure that you do appoint, if you think fit, an Adjutant General and a Quartermaster General, his Majesty being sensible of how much consequence it is to you, to have such persons in those situations,

as from our own knowledge and experience of their ability, you may safely rely on in all cases.

Extract of a Letter from Major General Howe to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated Boston, 26th Nov. 1775.
[Received 27th December.]

On the 9th instant, by his Majesty's ship Phoenix, I had the honour of your Lordship's separate letter, of the 5th of September, with duplicates of your Lordship's letters of the 2d August to General Gage and myself; also a letter from Mr. Secretary Pownall, of the 8th September, containing two inclosures, and a copy of a secret letter, of the 5th September, intended for your Lordship's signature.

The removal of the troops from hence before the winter season should set in, being the principal object of your Lordship's letter of the 5th September, it is with great reluctance I am to inform you, that his Majesty's intentions, in this particular, from the late arrival of the orders, cannot be carried into execution.

By the estimate, No. 1, your Lordship will observe the insufficiency of the tonnage of transports, now in port, to carry the troops, the artillery, the stores of all denominations, the well disposed inhabitants, with their effects, and such merchandize as it may be thought prudent to remove. If all our vessels were in port, the whole could not have gone at one embarkation, by a deficiency of 11,602 tons, even with the addition of the ships and small craft to be procured in the harbour. And when I reflect upon a division of the army for two embarkations, in its present weak state, upon the situation this garrison and the troops sent to New-York would be in, with respect to the enemy, it appears to me, that more would be hazarded than prudence could justify; especially as I should, in that case, be dependent upon the return of transports, at a season when the navigation on this coast, from the violence of northerly winds, is so very precarious.

The Generals Clinton, Burgoyne, and Lord Percy concurring in opinion with me, upon the inexpediency of evacuating this place before the spring, I am encouraged to hope, my determination to remain here will not meet with the King's displeasure.

We are not under the least apprehension of any attack upon this place from the rebels, by surprize, or otherwise, as taken
notice

notice of in your Lordship's letter; on the contrary, it were to be wished that they would attempt so rash a step, and quit those strong entrenchments, to which alone they may attribute their present security: but when I say this, I must add, that from sickness, the extended defence of this town and collateral posts, our force for the winter will not be adequate to any other undertaking of consequence to his Majesty's service; such as the possession of Rhode Island, New York, Philadelphia, or Charles Town in South Carolina; yet, in the course of the winter, should any operations from exchange of circumstances be thought advisable, the opportunity will not be neglected.

Having transmitted to the treasury by this conveyance several returns, specifying what may be wanted for carrying his Majesty's commands into execution in the spring, I have, for your Lordship's information, sent copies of them in a separate letter. And for the operations of the ensuing campaign, after receiving from your Lordship his Majesty's pleasure upon that head, I beg leave to propose, that the part of the 65th regiment here be sent to Halifax in the spring, which, with Lieutenant Colonel Goreham's corps now there, and some recruits of Lieutenant Colonel Maclean's, added to the militia intended to be raised in that colony, by information received on the 15th October from Governor Legge, will, I hope, put the dock-yard and town in perfect security from any attacks. By my last accounts from thence, of the 18th October, the temporary works intended to strengthen the dock were very forward, and it was proposed to have an entrenchment and block-houses upon the citadel-hill, for the future protection of the town, if it could be done before the winter.

The detachment of the 14th regiment now at Halifax, upon the junction of the 65th, will be ordered here; and as I apprehend the other parts of that corps would be more essentially employed with the army, than where they now are, shall therefore give directions accordingly, unless I receive your Lordship's orders to the contrary, or in the mean time some assurance of the necessity of their remaining to the southward.

For the blockade of this harbour, if such a measure is judged expedient, I would propose the entrenching one battalion at a place where ships of war can securely winter; it being, as I am informed, better situated for the object required than Castle William, which will be totally destroyed,
agreeable

agreeable to his Majesty's orders, by mines, which are ready to be loaded upon the evacuation of this town.

The next object I would mention, is the taking hold of Rhode Island with ten battalions, under the command of Major-general Clinton, having a fleet adapted to this service, with directions to push forward for Providence.

There will then remain sixteen battalions for New York, according to the inclosed distribution, the 6th, 14th and 16th regiments not included, the latter being stationed in West Florida, and the 6th not likely to arrive until late in the campaign.

But this army, though complete in the spring, must have between six and seven thousand recruits, and of the worst kind, if chiefly composed of Irish Roman Catholics, certain to desert if put to hard work, and from their ignorance of arms, not entitled to the smallest confidence as soldiers.

To obviate this real grievance, I would most humbly propose, that 100 men, hired from the Hanoverian and Hessian armies, be incorporated without officers into each of the 27 battalions of foot; 42d regiment, esteemed equal to two battalions, and the marines not being included: such of these men as remain after the service is at an end, to be returned to their respective states.

That 100 men be also added to each battalion, to be volunteers from the substitutes of the English militia, and to serve no longer than the existence of this most unnatural rebellion.

The regiments might then want to complete them about 700 recruits in the spring, making a small allowance for casualties that may happen in the winter by sickness, desertion, and service.

In this state, the army would be respectable for the number it would consist of, and may be kept up in future without difficulty, by the two additional companies per battalion: but unless this, or some better considered plan be adopted, the increase of the King's troops by recruits for the ensuing campaign, which, in its consequences, may be exceedingly important, will give little or no superiority over the rebel bands, who, though raw as soldiers, are nevertheless accustomed to the use of arms.

I beg leave further to add my opinion, that this force will not be adequate to an active offensive campaign on the side of New-York and Rhode-Island, paying no other regard to this place than the blockade of the harbour. The numbers, as afore-mentioned, will not amount to more than 5000 fighting men for Rhode-Island, and 8000 for New-York, out of which
last

last division, not less than 2000 should be left for the defence of the town and posts necessarily to be occupied : I would therefore humbly propose a reinforcement of 4000 Russians, of which 1500 to join General Clinton, and 2500 the corps to act at New York.

To combat these armies, I apprehend the rebels would not have less than 10,000 men on the side of Rhode Island, and perhaps 20,000 in the province of New York, to act against General Carleton on one hand, and the New-York corps on the other : the last may probably begin the campaign by the siege of New York, as recent accounts from thence mention a body of 4000 men being ordered by the Continental Congress from Philadelphia, to proceed thither immediately as a garrison ; and it is to be expected that they will fortify it in the best manner they are able, from the infinite consequence the possession of it is to them.

By Mr. Secretary Pownall's letter of the 8th September, I am informed, that the removal of the effects and merchandise from hence, belonging to the enemies, as well as friends of government, has occurred to the King's ministers to be an adviseable measure : but the commands for the effects of the ill-disposed not being positive, I am to beg your Lordship's further directions, lest government by my determinations may be engaged in future disputes and expence. I am particularly led to this, as Mr. Pownall in his letter mentions, " That he is directed to say, I must in this and every case of the like kind, be the best judge, and must therefore use my own discretion ; at the same time I beg leave to remark, the great convenience and relief such goods and merchandises would be to the rebels taking possession of this town ; upon which ground, I humbly apprehend the measure might be justified, as a distress to the enemy.

Your Lordship having been pleased to signify the King's pleasure to me, that I should, if I found occasion, appoint an adjutant-general, and a quarter-master-general to this army, I shall pay the utmost attention to his Majesty's service, in the appointment I am so unworthily intrusted to make.

A letter from Major Rogers at New York to General Gage being directed to the commander in chief, came to my hands since the General's departure, wherein he has made offers of his services, to which I have given encouragement, by desiring him to make his proposals, and by giving an assurance, that I am well inclined to do every thing in my power to afford him an opportunity of recommending himself to his Majesty's

Majesty's future favour. I find from Governor Tryon, that the rebels have made considerable overtures to him.

I beg leave to assure your Lordship, that I am truly sensible of the confidence the King has been pleased to repose in me, by entrusting the important command of this army, for the ensuing campaign, to my direction, in which distinguished situation every means will be exerted to forward his Majesty's intentions.

General Burgoyne, having received the King's leave to return to Britain, will deliver these dispatches, and it is needless for me to add, that he can give to your Lordship the fullest information relative to his Majesty's service in this part of America. If his Majesty has not more essential service for him, and it should be his inclination to return to this country, I hope I may not be deprived of an officer of his experience and ability for the ensuing campaign.

Return of Tonnage necessary for transporting the Troops, Artillery, Stores, and Inhabitants, &c. &c. &c.

Boston, 27th Nov. 1775.

Departments.

	<i>Tonnage.</i>
Royal artillery stores - - -	2900
One regiment of dragoons - - -	2000
Ten thousand infantry - - -	15,000
Deputy quarter master generals - - -	3800
Commissary generals - - -	1817
Engineers - - -	1100
Barrack master generals - - -	555
General hospital - - -	1100
Inhabitants, with their effects, supposed to be - - -	6000

Total 35,172

Tonnage of transports at present in port: 9721

Out upon different services - 7039

Ships and small craft in harbour - 6810

23,570

Wanting to compleat -

11,602

Total 35,172

W. HOWE.

A Distri-

A Distribution of thirty-one Battalions, as per Margin, intended for the Army in America, under the Command of Major General Howe, for the Campaign 1776, humbly submitted.

Boston, 26th Nov. 1775.

Battalions.

Distribution.

Battalions.

4th,	65th, Halifax and Newfoundland	1
5th,	Near Nantasket-road - - -	1
6th,	Rhode Island - - - - -	10
10th,	New York - - - - -	16
14th,	14th, Virginia, Halifax and St. Augustine - - - - -	1
15th,	16th, East and West Florida - - -	1
16th,	6th, West Indies - - - - -	1
17th,		
22d,		
23d,		
27th,		31
28th,		
35th,		
37th, 38th, 40th, 42d, esteemed equal to two battalions, having 1000 men, 43d, 44th, 45th, 46th, 47th, 49th, 52d, 55th, 63d, 64th, 65th, marines two battalions.		
—Total 31.		

N. B. The battalions are estimated at 500 men each for the field.

Copy of a Letter from Major General Howe to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated Boston, 27th Nov. 1775.
[Received 27th December.]

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship, that the Whitby transport from Cork, with four companies of the 17th regiment of foot; two transports, having on board four companies of the 3d battalion of the royal regiment of artillery, and two ships with ordnance stores, are safely arrived. The brig Nancy, with ordnance stores, was spoke ~~as~~ by one of the King's cruisers, the 15th instant, and is the only ordnance store ship missing, that failed under convoy of the Phoenix man of war; but none of the transports from Cork, with the 17th, 27th, 28th, 46th, and 55th regiments, have yet made their appearance, except the Whitby above-mentioned, which occasions some apprehensions that they have been driven far to the southward by the violence of the late nor-

northerly winds ; it is much to be wished that they were arrived, not only for the use they may be of, but on account of the advanced season of the year, and the dangers vessels must run by coming on this coast, in the present situation of things, without convoy or force, and having no friendly port but this to receive them, while the rebels' cruizers are watchful to take the advantage of their weakness or necessities, wherein they have already been too successful, and will probably do much more mischief, unless the King's ships can contrive to cut them off.

A remarkable instance of daring spirit was shewn on the 25th instant, within a short distance of the light-house, and within view of his majesty's ships, by a schooner that had actually taken one, and would have taken two transports loaded with forage, had it not been for the vigilance of Lieutenant Bourmaster of the navy, and agent of transports, on this service, who cut his cables, rescued the vessel taken, and drove off the rebel, in an armed transport, stationed for the protection of the light-house. In justice to this gentleman's merit, I beg leave to report to your Lordship, that he has, during General Gage's command, and since that time, invariably acted with the greatest alacrity and attention to the service in his own line, and upon other occasions.

In consequence of your Lordship's letter to the master-general of the ordnance, due attention shall be paid to the return of the officers belonging to the third battalion royal artillery.

When I had last the honour of writing to your Lordship, I flattered myself that the army would have been in quarters at this time ; but to my great disappointment, the works necessary for the winter defence of Charles Town heights, have been so much retarded by an unusual wet season, and want of artificers, that they are not yet perfect for the detachment intended to remain there ; that corps, therefore, is still in the field : a part of the troops on this side have quitted the camp, and the whole army, I think I can assure your Lordship, will be under cover in a few days.

I have been under the necessity of taking off the men employed upon the fortification within Boston-neck, which was begun before General Gage's departure, in order to employ them in throwing up redoubts for a better defence on the side of the common.

The sickness of the army has rather increased of late from the severity of the season ; but hope, since there is nothing epidemical among us, that we shall quickly recover in quarters, provided we do not wait too long for the flocks, bedding,

ding, blankets, &c. expected from England; in the mean time, the utmost attention will be had to the preservation of health.

Your Lordship having been pleased to take notice of the loss this army has suffered by desertion during the campaign, I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that only thirty-three men have deserted since the 19th of April.

By information, the rebel troops are in great want of cloathing, and much dissatisfied on other accounts; their agreements to serve will expire for the most part by the last of December, and there is reason to believe, that many of them will decline entering into new engagements: in the mean time, they have got into barracks, having a range of them at every post; the most extensive of which are at Cambridge.

The light-house at the mouth of this harbour, so necessary for the safety of vessels bound to this port, is now, I hope, effectually secured, and a detachment of troops will be kept there for its future defence; the lanthorn is repaired, and was lighted the 23d instant.

I beg leave to remark the great want of seamen experienced this summer, for the navigating of transports, for manning armed vessels and boats on particular services, and on many other occasions, which induces me to urge the necessity of sending out seamen to complete the transports to their proper number, a return whereof is inclosed. It is also to be wished, that the King's ships had their war establishments, as they would then be able to spare men for extra services, and not have the same reason for pressing out of the vessels from Europe and other parts coming with supplies for the navy and army, a practice which may greatly affect us in future, unless your Lordship will be pleased to direct, that protections be given to vessels sailing from Britain, and exemptions to others who may bring such supplies.

Before the departure of General Gage, an expedition was concerted by the General and Admiral, for the destruction of Cape Anne and Falmouth, two sea port towns on the coast to the east-ward, that were distinguished for their opposition to government; the Canceux and an armed transport, having a small detachment of troops on board, were to execute it; from circumstances, it was found inexpedient to make any attack upon Cape Anne, whereupon they proceeded to Falmouth, which place, after giving timely warning to the inhabitants, for the removal of themselves and their effects, was destroyed on the 18th of October, burning about five hundred

dred houses, fourteen sea vessels, taking and destroying several others, without any loss on our part.

On the return of this detachment, the 5th instant, I received confirmation, that the party from the rebel army, under the command of a Colonel Arnold, of which I presume your Lordship would have advice from General Gage, had gone up the Kennebec river, intending to enter Canada by the river Chaudiere; that they had got to fort Halifax, about sixty miles from the mouth of the Kennebec, from whence they had sent back about two hundred sick; nothing further has been since heard of them.

General Gage would of course acquaint your Lordship, that a vessel arrived express from Québec, on the 10th of October, with letters to him from General Carleton and Lieutenant Governor Cramatié, copies of which are herewith inclosed. In consequence, I determined to send, and had ordered a battalion of marines to embark immediately on board transports, and proceed to Québec, under the convoy of the Cerberus frigate, as had been settled by Admiral Graves. The transports were in readiness to receive the troops the 13th following, when I received the inclosed letter, No. 1, from Admiral Graves, declaring the attempt unadvisable and impracticable for transports; upon which I wrote to him, that I should drop the idea of sending the troops in transports upon his representations, as your Lordship may observe, by a copy of my letter inclosed, No. 2, intending at that time to procure smaller vessels, better adapted to work their way up the river St. Lawrence; but not being able to have them fitted for sea in reasonable time to undertake the voyage with the least prospect of succeeding, I judged it most prudent to decline sending the reinforcement, and dispatched the express vessel back to Québec on the evening of the 13th of October.

A variety of contradictory reports have since come by the way of New York, relative to the transactions on the part of Canada, and mostly favourable to his Majesty's arms, until the 20th instant, when a few days past a rebel paper was brought in here, giving an account of the surrender and capitulation of Chamblé and St. John's, by which the garrison are to remain prisoners in Connecticut, or elsewhere, as the continental Congress shall direct; Major Stepford, of the 7th regiment, commanded at the first, and Major Preston, of the 26th, at the latter place. A vessel from Québec, bound to Europe, which was spoken with lately at sea, having given the same information, I fear there is too much truth in the intelligence.

I am, &c.

W. Howe.

Copy of a separate Letter from Major General Howe to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated Boston, 2d December 1775.
[Received 27th December.]

MY LORD,

FOR your Lordship's most perfect information of the state of this army, I have done myself the honour to enclose copies of returns and estimates, with my own occasional remarks, which I have transmitted to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury by this opportunity; also a copy of my letter accompanying them, for their Lordships' consideration, to which I have nothing further to add, than that I am, &c.

W. HOWE.

Return of Provisions in Store at Boston, the 16th November 1775, and how long the same, with those since deposited, will serve 12,000 Men, at the Allowance now issued for want of Pease and Rice, viz.

In store, belonging to the crown— $3\frac{1}{2}$ casks suet; 12880 lbs. pork; 23469 lbs. dried cod fish; 9857 bushels wheat; 521590 lbs. flour; 94044 lbs. bread; 20384 pints oil.

Ditto, belonging to the contractors—764690 lbs. pork; 55249 lbs. flour; 9633 lbs. bread; 48196 lbs. butter; 9857 lbs. rice.

November 28th, deposited by ditto, 982 barrels flour of the ship Queen of Naples, cargo from London, the rest being 813 barrels flour have proved bad and unfit for use—223896 lbs. flour.

Total— $3\frac{1}{2}$ casks suet; 777570 lbs. pork; 23469 lbs. dried cod fish; 9857 bushels wheat; 1297985 lbs. flour; 103677 lbs. bread; 48196 lbs. butter; 20384 pints oil; 9857 lbs. rice.

The pork and fish will serve 1200 men 99 days, ending the 26th February next.

The wheat flour and bread will serve 116 days, ending the 24th March next.

And the butter and oil will serve 106 days, ending the 4th March next.

The suet and rice are reserved for the use of the hospitals.

The cargo of the snow Industry, from Bristol, is not included in the above return; she began to discharge two days ago.

The live stock is likewise not included in the above return.

To his Excellency the Hon.
Sir Wm. Howe, Major
General and Commander
in Chief, &c. &c.

Boston, Nov. 29, 1775.
(Signed) D. CHAMIER,
Commissary of Provi-
sions.

Observations on the Provision-Return.

BY the return herewith inclosed, it appears that there are not provisions for the army in store to serve longer than the beginning of March 1776.

Six months biscuit for 20,000 men, of a quality to keep twelve months, may prove of essential service in the course of the ensuing campaign, as the conveniencies for baking bread cannot be always had in this country; and if the biscuits be made of about six to the pound, they will pack the better.

It is requested that one-fifth part of the meat designed for the army may be beef.

An additional quantity of the small species, especially oat-meal, rice, suet and vinegar, will be requisite for the use of the hospitals.

One third of the whole to be packed up in small casks, which should not exceed 100 lb. gross, for the convenience of carrying two of them upon a horse.

(Signed) W. HOWE.

Returns of effective Horses, Cattle and Sheep, with the quantity of Forage in Store, and the Number of Days it will last.

Head Quarters, Boston, Nov. 27, 1775.

Departments.

Light Dragoons, 234 horses.

Generals and officers, 160 horses.

Royal Artillery, 200 horses.

Deputy Quartermaster Gen. 80 horses, 100 cattle, 400 sheep.

Total, 674 horses, 100 cattle, 400 sheep.

In Store.

450 tons hay; 12,391 bushels oats; 5640 bushels Indian corn; 12,861 bushels bran.

The whole will last { Hay 100 days.
Oats, &c. 150 days.

Expected.

Expected.

From Canada, 150 tons hay; 10,000 bushels oats; 5000 bushels bran.

From Nova Scotia, 150 tons hay.

Total 300 tons hay; 10,000 bushels oats; 5000 bushels bran.

The whole will last { Hay 60 days.
Oats, &c. 50 days.

N. B. The ration at the present allowance is 13 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

In case of scarcity the damaged flour now in store, to the amount of 3000 barrels, equal to 600,000 weight, may be made use of by mixing a proportion with oats, corn, &c. which will increase the price of the ration to 1s. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.

(Signed) W. Howe.

State of Barrack Bedding, Furniture and Fuel, in the Care of the Barrack Master. Boston, 1st December 1775.

At Boston.

Bedding, 3333 bed cases; 4149 bolster cases; 577 rugs; 2321 blankets; 4280 pair sheets; 16 mattresses and pillows.
Furniture, 1052 iron pots; 705 grates; 296 pair dog-irons; 229 tongs; 231 shovels; 202 axes; 316 candlesticks; 120 iron stoves; 1020 tramels; 600 pokers; 500 ash boxes; 425 buckles; 120 mallets; 260 iron wedges; 250 tables; 320 forms; 120 chairs; 36 lanthorns.
Fuel and candles, 668 cords of wood; 899 chaldrons coals; 10,000 lb. candles.

Ordered from England, and daily expected.

Bedding, 3376 bed cases; 2560 bolster cases; 3650 rugs; 8000 blankets; 3945 pair sheets; 50 tons flocks.
Furniture, 50 iron stoves.
Fuel and candles, 4000 chaldrons coals; 25,000 lb. candles.

Total.

Bedding 6709 bed cases; 6709 bolster cases; 4227 rugs; 10321 blankets; 8225 pair sheets; 50 tons flocks; 16 mattresses and pillows.
Furniture 1052 iron pots; 705 grates; 296 pairs of dog-irons; 229 tongs; 231 shovels; 202 axes; 316 candlesticks; 170 iron stoves; 1020 tramels; 600 pokers; 506 ash boxes; 425 buckles; 120 mallets; 200 iron wedges; 250 tables; 320 forms; 120 chairs; 36 lanthorns.

Fuel and candles, 668 cords of wood ; 4899 chaldrons coals ; 35,000lb. candles.

N. B. In the first article of bedding at Boston, is included 1000 sets of bedding got from the transports, equal to half the number of double beds.

The coals and candles are ordered from England by me, independent of that I now learn is ordered by the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury. And there is now at Halifax 10,000 cords of wood, ready to be transported hither when transports can be spared to fetch it ; 5000 cords of wood are directed to be cut against the spring, and by that time 6000 chaldron of coals, now digging, will be ready to be shipped at Spanish River in the island of Cape Breton.

(Signed) JAMES ROBERTSON,
Barrack Master General.

Two Estimates of Horses and Waggon's wanting for the Campaign 1776.

I. Supply of Waggon's for an Army of thirty Battalions of Infantry and two Regiments of Cavalry, for the Carriage of Baggage, Bread and Provisions, with Horses in Proportion.

Distribution.

		<i>Waggon's.</i>	<i>Horses.</i>
For the baggage of one battalion	- - -	12	48
Twenty-nine more	- - -	348	1392
For the foldiers tents of one battalion	- - -	00	10
Twenty-nine more	- - -	00	290
For the bread of one battalion	- - -	4	16
Twenty-nine more	- - -	116	464
For the baggage of one regiment of cavalry	- - -	8	32
One more	- - -	8	32
For the bread of one regiment of cavalry	- - -	2	8
One more	- - -	2	8
For the generals and staff officers, including their saddle-horses	}	40	342
To mount two regiments of cavalry		0	600
For the saddle-horses of the officers of one battalion of infantry, supposed to be	}	0	14
Twenty-nine more		0	406
Total		540	3662
			<i>Forage</i>

Forage for the above Horses.

<i>For what Time.</i>	<i>Hay Tons. Oats Tons</i>	
	<i>Rat. 20lb.</i>	<i>Rat. 9lb.</i>
For one day	-	33 15
For ninety-one days	-	3003 1365
N. B. Complete harness wanting for 490 waggons, four horses to each waggon.		

*Effective Horses and Waggons in the Garrison.**Distribution.*

	<i>Horses.</i>	<i>Waggons.</i>
Light dragoons	0	234
Ditto quarter master general	50	80
Generals and other officers	0	160
		<hr/>
Wanting to complete	50	474
	490	3188

Total 540 3662

It is intended that the magazines for this army should be carried by water, and not more than twenty miles distance from it.

Head Quarters, Boston, 27th November 1775.

II. Proportion of Batt Horses for the Carriage of the Baggage of the same Army, with Waggons to carry Bread, Provisions, and the General Officers Baggage.

Distribution.

	<i>Horses.</i>	<i>Waggons.</i>
Lieutenant colonel	9	
Major	7	
8 Captains, 5 each	40	
18 Subalterns, 3 to 2	27	
1 to the Generals Com. 2	2	
5 Staff, 2 each	10	
	<hr/>	
	95	
	<hr/>	
Bread	4	28
Provisions	3	7
		812
		203
		<hr/>
		For one battalion
		horses included
		2755
		<hr/>
		For mounting two re-
		giments of cavalry
		600
		Batt horses for ditto
		66
		<hr/>
		T 3
		Bread

Bread Provisions	-	6 4	} For two regiments	<i>Horses. Waggon.</i>	
				40	10
			For the general and staff officers, in- cluding their sad- dle horses	342	40
Total				4738	260

Forage for the above Horses.

	-	-	-	<i>Hay Tons. Oats Tons. Rat. 20lb. Rat. 9lb.</i>	
For one day	-	-	-	43	20
For ninety-one days	-	-	-	3913	1820
Difference between the two returns				<i>Horses. Waggon.</i> 1076	280

Return of Horses wanting for the Field Artillery, with Forage for ninety-one Days.

Horses	{	Total	-	648	<i>Hay Tons. Oats Tons. Rat. 20lb. Rat. 9lb.</i>	
		Effective		200		
		Wanting to complete		448	546	273
Proper saddles wanting for the whole number of batt horses.						
(Signed) WILLIAM SHERRIFF, D. Q. M. G.						

*Report of the Cargo of the Ship Queen of Naples, Capt. Powell, from London, shipped on the Contractor's Account, and consign-
ed to their Agent, Henry Lloyd, Esq. at Boston, viz.*

Barrels of flour, good	-	-	-	744
Ditto fit for present use	-	-	-	238
Sour and bad	-	-	-	813

Total 1795 barrels

Boston, 29th Nov. 1775.

(Signed) D. CHAMIER,

Commissary of Stores and Provisions.

To his Excellency the Hon. W. Howe, Major-general and Com-
mander in Chief, &c.*Return of Stores wanted for Service of his Majesty's Works in
the Engineer's Department at Boston, 7th Aug. inclosed to the
Honourable Board of Ordnance, 19th August 1775, viz.*

Cheveaux de frize, fets	-	-	-	200
				Cuirasses

A. 1779. D E B A T E S. 279

Cuirasses with head pieces, sets	-	50
Calthrops, or crows' feet, lb. wt.	-	2000
Crows of iron	-	100
Hammers, hand	-	100
— sledge	-	50
Carpenter's tools in boxes, sets	-	6
Grindstones with troughs, &c.	-	20
Mantelets of cured hides	-	200
Hambrough lines, skaines	-	100

Entrenching Tools.

Axes, broad	-	200
— felling	-	600
— pick	-	1000
Hand hatchets	-	1000
Barrows, wheel	-	500
— hand	-	300
Spades, common	-	2000
— ditching	-	500
Shovels, fhod	-	1500
— iron	-	500
Hand-bills	-	1000
Saws, hand	-	100
— crofs cut	-	50
Sand bags, bushel	-	10,000
— $\frac{1}{2}$ bushel	-	10,000
		20,000
Spikes of forts, size from 5 to 8 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches, barrels	-	20
Nails, 24d. ditto	-	10
Augurs of forts	-	200

Rope.

Tarr'd, 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ inch, 2 ; 3 ditto, 2 ; 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ditto, 3 ; 2 ditto, 3.
 White, 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ inch 2 ; 2 ditto, 3 ; 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ ditto, 3. Total, 18 coils.

October 1st, an addition was thought absolutely necessary to be made to the within return, by adding the following artificers :

Carpenters, master	-	1
— foreman	-	1
— carpenters	-	20
Bricklayers, master	-	1
— bricklayers	-	6
Blacksmiths, master	-	1
— blacksmiths	-	6
Wheelwrights	-	2
T 4		38
		The

The company of artificers to be sent out to serve under the immediate direction of the commanding engineer, as at New foundland, Gibraltar, &c.

(Signed) JOHN MONSTRESOR, *Commanding Engineer.*
His Excellency Major General HOWE.

Remarks.

It will be necessary to begin the campaign with six months forage in the magazines, which cannot be procured in this country in its present situation, therefore it must be looked for from Europe.

Rhode Island, from the best information, can supply fifteen thousand tons of hay in a season, but still great difficulties will arise in procuring it, if the inhabitants of that island are inimical, as you must depend upon them to cut and cure the hay. The same observation will answer with respect to Long Island and Staten Island, in the province of New York. Therefore upon this uncertainty the dependence upon magazines must be upon Europe.

The army being in the field may furnish itself with green forage from the middle of June to the middle of September.

Canada is able to supply the articles of oats and bran ; but the length and uncertainty of the voyage is such, that it is thought these articles may be brought from England or Ireland full as cheap, and with this advantage, that oats in particular are far superior in quality.

As to horses, waggons, and harness, when the present temper of the Americans is considered, they certainly will drive off every thing of that kind, wherever the army appears ; but on the other hand, should any one of the provinces return to their duty, it would furnish the army with these articles necessary for carrying on the war.

(Signed) W. HOWE.

Head Quarters, Boston, 27th Nov. 1775.

Copy of a Letter from Major General Howe to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated Boston, 3d December 1775.

[Received 27th December.]

MY LORD,

By a letter received last night from Lieutenant Governor Cramatie, which your Lordship has enclosed, there is too much

much reason to fear that by a general defection of the Canadians, the whole province of Quebec will fall into the hands of the rebels: and by a private letter from thence, of later date, by one Day, I learn Montreal has surrendered; that General Carleton was on his way down the river, in an armed vessel, and that there was little reason to believe the capital would be able to withstand the expected attack.

The lieutenant governor of Quebec, under those circumstances, has been induced to detain five transports sent from hence, for forage, by which we not only lose the hay and corn expected as per return in my separate letter of 2d instant, but are deprived of 1416 tons of shipping, to be added to the quantity specified in the return of tonnage in my dispatch of 26th November, as wanting for the removal of this garrison &c. at one embarkation. I hope that the transports to replace these, and to make up the deficiency in the return, may be ordered out early in the spring, and in consideration of the loss we have already sustained by the enemy, that they should come under convoy.

I learn the Nancy brigantine, an ordnance transport, having on board 400 stand of arms complete, 100,000 flints, a thirteen inch mortar, with other stores in proportion, was taken in the Bay last week by the rebels privateers, and affords an instance for this necessity. The circumstance is rather unfortunate to us, as they are now furnished with all the requisites for setting the town on fire, having got a large quantity of round carcasses, and other stores, with which they could not have been otherwise supplied. The particular manner whereby she was taken is not ascertained; but so many artifices having been practised upon strangers, under the appearance of friendship, false pilots, &c. that those coming out with stores of any kind cannot be put too much upon their guard.

And I submit to your Lordship the necessity there may be of supplying the loss of arms, flints, &c. suffered on this occasion.

I am also to request your Lordship will be pleased to direct twice the quantity of engineers tools contained in the inclosed return to be sent out in separate ships, for two divisions of the army: both of which may be employed in sieges. The date of this return will point out the time when the requisition was made.

From an apprehension that the advantages gained by the rebels in Canada, and their good fortune here, in possessing themselves of our stores, may encourage them to further attempts,

tempts, I shall, with all dispatch, send to Halifax the part of the 65th, now here under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Bruce, who will command on his arrival, and with this reinforcement, I must conclude that place will be in perfect security.

Upon this unfortunate event in Canada, and your Lordship's encouragement to mention my opinion, I beg leave to say, for the recovery of that province as a primary object, the army to effect it should not consist of less than 12,000 fighting men; at the same time I desire I may not be understood to give up the plan as set forth in my letter No. 2. of the 26th November, as the enemy will feel more immediate distress by being attacked on the most vulnerable side, than from any success to be gained in Canada.

The admiral has informed me, that by a letter received this day from Captain Wallace of the *Rose* ship of war, stationed at Rhode Island, the rebels give out they are to fortify the Heights above the town of Newport; also that they are fitting out an armed ship at Philadelphia, to carry 36 guns, and two or three more of a less force, with a design of cruising to the southward, and to take Lord Dunmore in their way.

I am, &c.

W. HOWE.

Copy of a Letter from Major General Howe to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated Boston, 13th Dec. 1775.

[Received 6th January 1776.]

MY LORD,

His Majesty's ship *Tartar* being ordered to England by Admiral Graves, I am to confirm to your Lordship the intelligence before communicated of the capture of the ordnance brig *Nancy*, by the rebels, and that there is certainty of another vessel, the property of a merchant; loaded with woollen goods and every article necessary for cloathing, having lately fallen into their hands, which must afford great relief to their most essential wants.

Since the departure of the *Boyne* man of war on the 5th instant, there have been no arrivals from Britain; and I am induced to believe, from the long prevalence of northerly winds, that the transports from Cork, with the 17th, 27th, 28th, 46th, and 55th regiments, together with the ships bringing stores for this place, have been forced far from the coast, and if so, the difficulties they have to encounter in getting

ning to this port, will increase in proportion as the winter season advances.

These considerations, and the state of provisions in store, a particular account of which your Lordship has with my separate letter of the 2d instant, sent by the Boyne, give rise to very alarming apprehensions, especially as demands for this article are increased from the transports, provisions for the seamen being expended from the pressing wants of useful persons, who must be supported for their services, and of many others, who have ever been attached to government.

I am also concerned to observe, that the uncertainty of defenceless vessels getting into this harbour, is rendered more precarious, by the rebel privateers infesting the bay, who can take the advantage of many inlets on the coast, where his Majesty's ships cannot pursue them, and from whence they can safely avail themselves of any favourable opportunities that offer. The admiral being of opinion, that the ships cannot block up the several ports of Cape Anne, Marblehead, Beverly and Plymouth, which afford protection to these pirates, without the assistance of a land force, that cannot at present be spared, has placed his ships in Nantasket Road, with orders to cruize from thence in the Bay, which not proving effectual, I would humbly propose, that the provisions and other valuable stores, be sent out for the future in ships of war, without their lower deck guns, or in vessels of sufficient force to defend themselves against these pirates. One of them, a brigantine with seventy-three men, has been brought in by his Majesty's ship Fowey; and I inclose to your Lordship a copy of the captain's instructions from Mr. Wathington, commanding the rebel army. The prisoners are sent to England in the Tartar.

The troops entered into quarters here yesterday, leaving a detachment entrenched upon the Heights of Charles Town, for the defence of that post.

Six companies of the 65th are embarked, and will sail for Halifax under convoy of the Cerberus frigate. The 18th and 59th regiments being drafted into other corps, their commissioned and non-commissioned officers, with the invalids and recruiting parties, go from hence on board of transports, in company with the Tartar.

By advice received from the head quarters of the rebels, I learn that General Carleton embarked at Montreal for Quebec on the 12th of November, with one hundred soldiers, and as many Canadians, carrying with him all the military stores

he

he could convey, and that the rebels took possession of the town the next day.

I am, &c.

W. HOWE.

Copy of a Letter, marked private, from Major General Howe, to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated Boston, 19th Dec. 1775.
[Received 6th February 1776.]

MY LORD,

I EMBRACE the opportunity of an officer, who has my leave to go to Britain, in a private ship suddenly ordered there, to acquaint your Lordship, that I have advice of Colonel Eyre Massey being arrived at Halifax with his regiment, and that I have been induced on this occasion to countermand my orders for six companies of the 65th regiment, now lying in Nantasket road, to proceed to that place.

There have not arrived any troops since my last by the Tartar frigate, leaving this the 16th instant; but the store ships, as per margin, have got in with most seasonable supplies,

Thames, Laird.

Friendship, Miller.

Britannia, White.

Generous Planter, Calfe.

although the live stock met with worse fate than could have been suspected, from the great care that has been taken. As their cargoes are not yet landed,

I cannot render a more particular account, but from all the reports received, the merchants employed have been most attentive to their engagements.

I am concerned to inform your Lordship, that I have the authority of the rebel commander to believe Brigadier Prescott has fallen into the hands of the enemy; and report says, that General Carleton, with the whole province of Canada, has shared the same fate. Having no communication with Canada at present, I cannot determine upon the degree of credit this intelligence deserves, but am hopeful that the latter is not true.

However, Mr: Washington, commanding the rebel army, presuming upon the number and rank of the prisoners in his possession, has threatened retaliation in point of treatment to any prisoners of theirs in our power, and proposes an exchange, which is a circumstance I shall not answer in positive terms, nor shall I enter upon such a measure without the King's orders. Your Lordship has inclosed a publication, extracted from the minutes of the continental Congress, in reference to his Majesty's proclamation of 23d August last,
on

on the principles of which Mr. Washington seems to have founded his threats.

The small quantity of salt provisions in store here, has induced me to send an armed transport to St. Eustatia, for a supply of that article, understanding the markets there are glutted with provisions, by which means I flatter myself, should the victuallers ordered here be disappointed in making their voyages in time, that we shall secure a sufficient resource until some of them do arrive.

I have also, on consultation with the Admiral, ordered two transports to be fitted out with the utmost dispatch, to sail under convoy of the Scarborough man of war, and two armed schooners, with directions to have them loaded with rice at Savanna, by the assistance of Sir James Wright; and if, in going or returning, they should fall in with any ships having a quantity of this article on board, the captain of the Scarborough will have orders to seize and send them here for the use of the garrison, navy, and inhabitants. In these ships I propose sending 200 marines, under the command of a field officer; and in the whole of this proceeding, I trust I shall have your Lordship's sanction, being guided by motives arising from my regard to the interest and necessity of his Majesty's service. I have communicated to the lords commissioners of the treasury, in a letter of this date, an exact account of all the steps I have taken relative to the aforementioned purposes.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. HOWE.

Copy of a Letter from the Honourable Major General Howe to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated Boston, 26th Dec. 1775.

[Received 6th February 1776.]

MY LORD,

I AM this day informed, by the master of a vessel arrived here a few days past from Cape Nicholas, in the island of Hispaniola, that the rebels get supplies of arms and gunpowder from thence in large quantities; one person, by this informant's account, having sold 1000 stands of arms, and one ton of gunpowder, to the master of a privateer, fitted out for that intent from Providence, in the government of Rhode-Island; and it was generally said at Cape Nicholas, that the same privateer had sailed with three other vessels under her convoy, having on board two tons of gunpowder, and 10,000 stands of arms, for the use of the rebels.

It

It has lately been discovered, that persons in the country suspected of disaffection to government, having effects and merchandize in this town, have used, and are practising various artifices, by a separation and conveyance of their property to those of the town who pass for being well disposed subjects, to secure the same. As they must be indebted to merchants in Britain for the greater part of such goods, and certainly mean to defraud them in payment, I shall do every thing in my power to stop these proceedings, until I receive your Lordship's particular instructions on this head.

With the most perfect respect, I have the honour to be, &c.

W. HOWE.

Copy of a Letter from the Earl of Dartmouth to Major General Howe, dated Whitehall, 22d Sept. 1775.

[Received 30th December.]

SIR,

IT having been thought expedient, with a view of providing more effectually for the security of Canada and of Halifax, to change the destination of the five regiments now ready to sail from Ireland; inclosed I send you a copy of Lord Rochford's letter to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, containing the directions that have been given on this occasion, which will point out to you the whole of that arrangement. I also inclose to you, a copy of the state of the ships taking in stores and provisions for the use of the army, together with a copy of my letter to the lords of admiralty thereupon. And I am to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure, that if, when these ships arrive and are unloaded, you may have occasion for them, in any operations you have in view, you do detain them in his Majesty's service, such only excepted as are chartered for the West Indies, after delivery of their loading at Boston.

The last advices from North America are the fullest evidence of an opened and declared war on the part of the twelve associated colonies; and there is no room left for any other consideration, but that of proceeding against them in all respects with the utmost vigour, as the opened and avowed enemies of the state.

I am, &c.

DARTMOUTH.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from the Earl of Dartmouth to the Honourable Major General Howe, dated Whitehall, 22d Oct. 1775.

[Received 30th December.]

SIR,

YOU will have seen, by the extract of a letter from Governor Martin, which accompanied my dispatch of the 15th of Sept. and also by an extract of a letter from Lord William Campbell, transmitted to you by Mr. Pownall, that there were many circumstances in the state both of North and South Carolina, that indicated a disposition in the people, more particularly in those settled in the interior country, to resist the oppressive acts of the committees in the towns upon the sea coasts; and you will have observed with how much confidence Governor Martin speaks of the practicability of reducing, with a small force, the province of North Carolina to obedience.

The same appearances begin to shew themselves in Georgia and in Virginia; and Lord Dunmore even makes himself responsible for securing the obedience of the latter of those provinces, with the assistance only of two or three hundred men.

I will confess, that it appeared to me, at the first view of the propositions made by Lord Dunmore and Governor Martin, that they were too sanguine in their expectations: but later advices confirm what they represented of the temper and disposition of the people; and there is good ground to believe, that the appearance of a respectable force to the southward, under the command of an able and discreet officer, will have the effect to restore order and government in those four provinces.

The King, whose solicitude for pursuing with vigour every measure that tends to crush the present dangerous rebellion in the colonies, excites in his Majesty the most exemplary attention to every object of advantage, has thought fit, in consequence of these favourable appearances to the southward, to signify his Majesty's pleasure, that five regiments of infantry, viz. the 15th, 37th, 53d, 54th, and 57th, should be ordered to hold themselves in readiness to embark at Cork, on or before the 1st of December, for North America.

These regiments will be joined by two companies of artillery from hence, who will take with them ten battalion guns, and as many howitzers and amusettes as the number of artillery men serve, and also 10,000 stand of spare arms; and
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the whole will be ordered to proceed, under convoy of a proper naval force, to Cape Fear river, at which place there is good ground to hope they will be immediately joined by the Highland emigrants settled in that neighbourhood, whose assistance Governor Martin says we may depend upon.

It is the King's intention that this body of troops should, upon their arrival, be under the command of one of the general officers who are now with you; and I am to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure, that one of them do immediately proceed in a ship of war to Cape Fear river, and to remain on board either within the river or in the offing, as shall be judged most proper, until the arrival of the forces from Cork, before which time he will probably have been able to collect such information and materials as may enable him the better to judge of the plan of operations to be pursued.

In the consideration of a measure of so much importance, every circumstance that can give facility and security to the landing of the forces from Ireland will deserve attention; and it will certainly be proper, that two or three small vessels, furnished with able pilots, should be appointed to cruise off the coast, and to conduct the fleet into Cape Fear river, a caution which is the more necessary, as the navigation of that part of the coast of America is difficult and dangerous.

I have already mentioned to you the probability that the King's troops will, upon their arrival, be joined by the Highland emigrants: but our expectations on this head are not confined to that description of people only, the inhabitants of four or five of the back countries have shewn the same disposition; and it is these circumstances which have induced the resolution of sending the troops to North Carolina, and directing them to repair to Cape Fear river, which from its vicinity to those countries, as well as from its superior advantages as a port, is judged by the King to be the most proper place.

At the same time, his Majesty does not intend that the general should in his plan of operations be confined to any particular province; his choice of situation must, in that respect, be governed by his own judgment. After maturely weighing every circumstance of greater or less advantage and facility in the means of restoring the public tranquility, and re-establishing the authority of the King's government, which object being once effected in any one of the southern colonies, the troops may proceed to another, leaving the support and protection of that which has been so reduced, to
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a corps formed out of the well affected provincials, who shall have taken up arms in the King's cause ; and his Majesty is not without hope, that by the time that the navigation of the northern coasts of North America becomes practicable in the spring, the whole of this corps of regular troops may upon that plan proceed to join the main army.

In the consideration of the means of effecting these important services, a great variety of objects present themselves. A landing once obtained, and the troops in secure possession, either of the capital, or any of the provinces, or of any other town, in which the civil governor may exercise the functions of his office with safety, the next step will be to require, that all committees of towns, or congresses of such committees, and the unlawful associations which have been entered into, be dissolved ; that the courts of justice throughout the province be opened ; that all persons whatsoever do take the oaths of allegiance before the judges of such courts ; and that those who have, by the instigation of the committees, taken up arms against lawful authority, do surrender the same, and make such declaration of their future obedience, as the governor shall, with the advice of his council, direct and require, in which case they may be told, that they may expect to be recommended as objects of the royal mercy.

If the inhabitants of the province, or any part of them, refuse to comply with these requisitions, it will be the duty of the King's general to employ the troops under his command, to force them to submission, by seizing the persons and effects of the delinquents, and by attacking and doing their utmost to destroy any towns in which the people shall assemble in arms, hold meetings of committees, or congresses, or prevent the King's courts of justice from assembling.

It is possible, that the people may be rash enough to appear in the open field against the King's troops, and to hazard an action : but should that be the case, I trust the matter will soon be decided to the advantage of government ; I apprehend, however, that they will not hazard such a conflict ; nor is it with any such expectation, that the measure of sending these troops has been adopted here ; but principally upon the encouragement held out by the King's governors, that if such respectable force was sent, as might make it safe for the friends of government to shew themselves, they should soon prevail over those who having found means of getting the sword into their hands, have hitherto been able to effect their rebellious purposes without controul. At the same time,

therefore, that the rebels are encouraged to hope for mercy upon submission, every species of reward must be offered to those who have not yet involved themselves in that guilt, and shall consent to lift under the royal banner, who, besides an allowance of the same pay as the King's troops receive, so long as they continue in service, may be encouraged to expect a remission of all arrears of quit-rent due to the crown, and an exemption from payment of any for a few years to come.

In truth, the whole success of the measure his Majesty has adopted, depends so much upon a considerable number of inhabitants taking up arms in support of government, that nothing that can have a tendency to promote it ought to be omitted. I hope we are not deceived in the assurances that have been given, for if we are, and there should be no appearance of a disposition in the inhabitants of the southern colonies to join the King's army, I fear little more will be effected, than the gaining possession of some respectable post to the southward, where the officers and servants of government may find protection, and from which the rebels may be annoyed, by sudden and unexpected attacks of their towns upon the sea coast, during the open part of the winter, which attacks, however, may be made very distressing to them, and will be no inconsiderable advantage.

There are, indeed, so many objects of advantage in this expedition, that his Majesty is unwilling to suppose we can fail in them all, or that we shall not be able, at least, to maintain a post in one or other of the four provinces in rebellion: but supposing the worst to happen, St. Augustine, in all events, offers a secure retreat to the troops, until the season of the year will admit of their joining your army.

Having fully explained to you the objects of the intended expedition, I have only to add, that it is not meant that it should prevent you in any measure of the like nature, which you may have had in contemplation, in consequence of my former dispatches; on the contrary, the sending a detachment from your army to any of the four southern provinces, where you see an opening for effecting any essential service, may have the consequence to give the greater facility and advantage to the present enterprize; and therefore it is the King's wish, that you should pursue that measure, if it can be effected without prejudice to your general plan of operation, of which, however, you must be the best judge, and therefore his Majesty leaves it entirely to your own discretion.

I am, &c.

DARTMOUTH.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from Major General Howe to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated Boston, 16th January 1776.

[Received 22d February.]

MY LORD,

BY Admiral Shuldhham's arrival on the 30th December, I had the honour of your Lordship's dispatches of the 22d October; a duplicate of the 25th September, from Mr. Deputy Secretary Pownall, covering a letter from Lord William Campbell, of the 19th July; a duplicate from your Lordship, of the 22d September, the originals of which are not yet received, with copies of dispatches from the Earl of Rochford, of the 21st September, to the lord lieutenant of Ireland; also a copy of a letter from your Lordship, of the 22d September, to the lords commissioners of the admiralty, in which you are pleased to intimate, that the stores of provisions contracted for by Messrs. Mure, Son, and Atkinson, by the lords of the treasury, are intended as well for the fleet as the army; whereas, from there not being any mention made of the fleet sharing these stores, either in your Lordship's letters to me from the lords of the treasury, or the merchants, the cargoes arriving before Admiral Shuldhham, were distributed solely to the army; but since the sight of your Lordship's letter, that I might not appear to neglect the fleet, I have, though without a direct order from your Lordship, given a proportion of porter to the ships; at the same time I beg leave to observe, the deliveries of provisions to the soldiers for some weeks past, being without peas or rice, the want of bedding, and the unavoidable exposure to the weather from the nature of the duty, which has been very severe, without enumerating further reasons, make them require these refreshments more than the seamen, who are better provided.

I inclose for your Lordship's information, an account of the deficiencies in the provision contract, with the commissary's letter thereupon, and I shall send another to the lords of the treasury. Having heard from Governor Tryon, that there is a prospect of getting some provisions on the side of New York, I have dispatched a vessel to endeavour to procure it; and the victuallers for the navy lately arrived could conveniently afford us a supply for six weeks if necessary, which relieves me from the necessity of putting the troops to short allowance, more especially as I am hopeful that the vessels mentioned in my dispatch of the 19th December, may return from the West Indies and Georgia before the provisions in

store, as per state, are consumed: so that our dependence is not wholly upon the contractors' ships, one of which got in the 13th instant, with oats, flour, and pease, the last article affording a most seasonable relief.

The necessary arrangements being made for the departure of Major General Clinton to Cape Fear, in consequence of your Lordship's dispatches of the 22d October, he is ready to sail in the Mercury ship of war, with the Falcon sloop and two transports, having on board two companies of light infantry, and some Highlanders; the latter, I hope, may be useful in getting men in North Carolina, if Governor Martin is not deceived in his expectations, of which I do not presume to judge, having received no direct intelligence from thence since General Gage's departure; nor have I received Governor Martin's letter, referred to in your Lordship's letter of 22d October.

It is much to be wished that the troops had sailed from Europe in time to have arrived at their destination by the middle or latter end of November: but I am free to own my opinion to your Lordship, which has been, to leave the southern provinces in the fullest persuasion of their security until the rebels should have been defeated on the side of New York; which event appears to me, more clearly than ever, of so much consequence, that our utmost strength should be exerted to accomplish it before designs of less importance are taken up, inconsistent with the general plan of operations for the ensuing campaign; and it is to be presumed, the southern rebels would have been less able to defend themselves, had they not been roused by the conduct of their governors, who have not, I fear, the power of suppressing them, or of re-establishing the interest of government in any degree. It is remarkable, that the destination of the regiments to the southward was promulgated here by private letters from England, that came in the same ship with your Lordship's dispatch relative to them, and I make no doubt of the rebels being in possession of the intelligence very soon after it arrived: General Lee, I hear, is gone from the army, in consequence of it.

In Mr. Deputy Secretary Pownall's letter, of the 22d September, I am to understand, that I may expect the King's commands from your Lordship, for the 17th, 27th, 28th, 46th, and 55th regiments to be sent to Quebec, as early as possible in the spring, and to detach a sufficient force from this army for the security of Halifax. These drains, added to that to the southward, from whence I can promise myself little assistance to the main army, will reduce the expected strength

strength for the campaign so considerably, that if a respectable supply of troops from Europe does not arrive soon in the spring, another defensive campaign, I conclude, will be the consequence; for by the want of a force to act early, the rebel army will have full time to entrench in every strong position their commanders may fix upon; in which case, though we should get possession of New York without resistance, we must not expect to carry their entrenched camps but with considerable loss; whereas, on the contrary, the army at the opening of the campaign being in force, would, probably, by rapid movements, bring the rebels to an action upon equal terms, before they could cover themselves by works of any signification. The ill consequences that must arise from another defensive campaign are not to be pointed out to your Lordship; but it may be necessary to observe, that if the five battalions under Major General Clinton are joined by the well-affected inhabitants, and should possess themselves of any object that it may be important to hold, I shall not presume to call them off to the main army, unless the General shall represent, that the inhabitants are able to maintain their situation, although the King's troops should be withdrawn.

I beg leave to remark, that with a proper army of 20,000 men, having 12,000 at New York, 6000 at Rhode Island, and 2000 at Halifax, exclusive of an army for the province of Quebec, the present unfavourable appearance of things would probably wear a very different aspect before the end of the ensuing campaign. With fewer troops, the success of any offensive operations will be very doubtful, the enemy possessing advantages that will not be readily overcome by a small force; neither is their army by any ways to be despised, having in it many European soldiers, and all, or most of the young men of spirit in the country, who are exceedingly diligent and attentive in their military profession.

Inclosed are copies of letters of the 13th and 18th December from Governor Tryon, with three papers, containing intelligence from him. He seems positive of being able to raise 2000 men upon the arrival of this army at New York, who may be rendered very useful, if accompanied by his personal services in the field. The inclosed extract from my answer to the governor, and copy of a letter to the commanding officer at Niagara, I hope may meet with his Majesty's approbation. I beg your Lordship will honour me with the King's commands respecting the bounty money, payment, and cloathing of the provincial levies: their officers last war ranked with those of the army as youngest in their respective degrees.

Your Lordship has inclosed a state of the transports, including such as have arrived and been taken into his Majesty's service, in consequence of the duplicate of your Lordship's letter of the 22d September; and that no time may be lost in transporting the army from hence to New York, I shall continue to take up all proper vessels that can be got; but I do not suppose that this place can be evacuated, without the aid of transports from Europe. One great difficulty among the many in this operation, will be the number of inhabitants, who, I expect, will desire to be removed, with their effects and merchandize. As many as Governor Legge can possibly accommodate and provide for shall be sent to Nova Scotia.

Having lately discovered a negotiation of property between the rebels and their friends in this town, I use every endeavour to stop it; and although it is not done as effectually as I could wish, yet, I am hopeful, a large stock in trade may be reserved until I have the honour of your Lordship's instructions for my future conduct in this business.

By accounts from the rebel army, it is said, Major General Carleton got into Quebec on the 20th of November, and the season then being so far advanced, I conclude it will not be in the power of the rebels to force him this winter. I have sent an officer who may be depended upon, to Halifax, and from thence to Quebec, that I may have a true state of the General's situation, and I expect his return by the beginning of April.

The six missing companies of the 17th, and six companies of the 55th regiments, arrived the 30th December, in the Grosvenor and Grand Duke of Russia transports, but have not had any account of the other four companies of the 55th regiment.

From what I can learn of the designs of the leaders of the rebels, they seem determined, since the receipt of the King's speech among them, to make the most diligent preparations for an active war, and it is my firm opinion they will not retract, until they have tried their fortune in a battle, and are defeated: but I am under the necessity of repeating to your Lordship, that the apparent strength of this army for the spring does not flatter me with the hopes of bringing the rebels to a decisive action.

With the most perfect respect, I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's faithful

and most obedient servant,

W. HOWE.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from Major General Howe to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated Boston, 22d January 1776.

[Received 22d February.]

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship, that his Majesty's ship *Centurion* arrived the 18th instant, and that she spoke three weeks ago with the *Argo* transport, having three companies of the 46th regiment on board, in good health at that time.

Major General Clinton sailed the 20th in the morning, in the *Mercury* frigate, the *Falcon* sloop being before sent directly to Cape Fear, to wait the arrival of the transports. A copy of your Lordship's dispatch of the 22d October is given, as the principal guidance of his conduct, while local circumstances and good intelligence determine him in pursuing the main objects of his expedition. He has blank commissions for officers, in case it should be found at any time advisable to embody Provincials for the service; and I have sent commissions to three gentlemen, who have been long in North Carolina, to secure the attachment of the Highlanders settled in that colony, on a promise from General Gage that they should have appointments in the second battalion of Royal Highland Emigrants, to be formed as soon as the first was known to be completed, which it has been for some time, as appears by collecting all the returns received in their dispersed situation.

In prosecution of General Gage's intentions, I have likewise issued commissions to two captains in this corps, who have actually raised their companies in Nova Scotia, and to two others who have been employed on the regiment's duty, and whose complement of men appears also to be raised. However, I shall proceed no further in forming the second battalion, until more certain accounts of their success in recruiting are received: and as I am furnished with no particular instructions concerning this corps, I could wish to be honoured with his Majesty's commands relative thereto.

Robberies, and housebreaking in particular, had got to such a height in this town, that some examples had become necessary to suppress it. Two soldiers, late of the 59th regiment of foot, have been tried, convicted, and sentenced to suffer death, for breaking into and robbing the storehouses of Messrs. Nathaniel and William Coffin; one of them has suffered: the other, Thomas Owen, as a young offender, and having other circumstances to plead in his favour, I have

thought proper to reprove, conforming to the power expressed in my commission as follows: "We giving you power to reprove any person under sentence, until our pleasure be known:" and I humbly intreat your Lordship to recommend the said Thomas Owen for his Majesty's royal pardon.

I am, &c.

W. HOWE.

Copy of a Letter from the Earl of Dartmouth to the Honourable Major General Howe, dated Whitehall, 15th Sept. 1775.

[Received 23d January 1776.]

SIR,

BY dispatches which we have received from Governor Martin, dated in the month of July, it appears that notwithstanding he has been reduced to the humiliating necessity of taking refuge on board his Majesty's ship Cruizer in Cape Fear river, and of submitting to see his Majesty's fort Johnstone burnt before his face, within gun-shot of the Cruizer, he continues to be of opinion that if he was supported with a small force, and a large supply of arms, and some field-pieces, he could raise a body of men in that colony, sufficient to reduce the rebellious subjects, both there and in South Carolina, to obedience, and to awe the colonies of Virginia, and prevent any auxiliaries being sent from thence to the northward.

The inclosed extracts from Governor Martin's letter will more fully explain to you what he says; but I must confess, I think he is much too sanguine; and that from the late advices of the state of North Carolina, there is not much ground to hope any thing considerable can be effected there.

As he speaks, however, of the probability of success with so much confidence, it has been thought fit to order a supply of ten thousand stand of arms, and six light field-pieces, to be sent to you, without loss of time, in order to enable you to afford him such assistance in that particular as may be requisite; and it is Majesty's pleasure that if you find, when this letter reaches you, that there are any good grounds to suppose that the sending to North Carolina a detachment of your army, under an able and intelligent officer, would have the good effect Mr. Martin seems to expect, and his Majesty's service will in other respects admit of it, you do in that case send such detachment, consisting of one battalion at least, together with the arms and field-pieces herewith sent to you; for there is no doubt that if what Mr. Martin suggests can be effected,

effected; it would be an advantage of the greatest importance, next to the regaining our ground in New-York.

I am, &c.

DARTMOUTH.

Copy of a Letter from Major-general Howe to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated Boston, 23d January 1776.

[Received 22d February.]

MY LORD,

THE box containing your Lordship's dispatches by the Centurion having been received on board when the captain was on shore, by a mistake of the steward's, was put into a store-room without the captain's knowledge, which has occasioned my not getting them before this day.

The letters from your Lordship are your secret duplicate and separate of the 5th September, one of the 15th, and one of the 22d following.

Copies of letters from your Lordship to the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty, of the 22d September; from Lord Rochford to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, of the 21st September.

Extracts from your Lordship to General Gage, of the 2d August; two from Governor Martin of 30th June and 6th July; and one from Lord William Campbell of 14th July.

A letter from Mr. Secretary Pownall, of the 26th September, and a duplicate from him of the 8th; a list of Indian goods shipped on board the Grand Duke of Russia, the Grosvenor and Harcourt transports; the two first are arrived.

A list of store-ships for America, also a dispatch from your Lordship to Governor Martin, which shall be forwarded by Captain Collet, who is daily expected from Halifax, and will proceed, without loss of time, to North Carolina; he will also be the bearer to General Clinton of copies of the extracts of Governor Martin's letters of the 30th June and 6th July.

The matter contained in your Lordship's secret letter of the 5th September having been notified to me in a former letter, I have only to add my wishes that a part of the foreign troops therein mentioned, at least 8000, may be sent to this part of America, although I fear they cannot arrive for the early operations of the campaign, upon which the future success of it so much depends; and your Lordship's dispatch of the 22d October having amply set forth the business contained in your letter of the 15th September, and which is answered in mine
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of the 16th instant, I do not trouble your Lordship with any thing further upon this subject. The other letters received in this package have already been answered, from the early receipt of your Lordship's letters upon the same subject.

The inclosed memorial from the officers in the marine corps serving in the army, I beg leave to recommend to your Lordship's consideration; and if your Lordship should think with me that there is not any impropriety in it, that you would be pleased to lay the same before his Majesty. It is my duty to add that the officers concerned have acted here with the greatest spirit, diligence, and attention to the service.

By intelligence received this morning from the enemy's quarters, I learn that about the 1st of this month the rebels, headed by Mr. Montgomery, made an assault upon Quebec, and that they entered the town, but were repulsed with considerable loss, by their own acknowledgement. Mr. Montgomery, with many other officers, and seventy men, were killed; Colonel Arnold and three hundred wounded and taken prisoners. Two deserters that have come over this day confirm the above intelligence, and further say that it has been published in one of their newspapers.

I am, &c. W. HOWE.

Copy of a Letter from General Howe to the Earl of Dartmouth, dated on board his Majesty's Ship Chatham, Nantasket Road, 21st March 1776.

[Received 2d May.]

MY LORD,

It is with great regret I am obliged to inform your Lordship, that after all my struggles to supply the army with provisions from the southern provinces and the West Indies, from whence none of the vessels have yet returned, and after an anxious expectation of more transports to convey the troops, stores, civil officers, inhabitants, and effects, the enemy, by taking possession of, and fortifying the commanding heights on Dorchester Neck, in order to force the ships by their cannon to quit the harbour, has reduced me to the necessity either of exposing the army to the greatest distresses, by remaining in Boston, or of withdrawing from it under such straitened circumstances. The importance of preserving this force, when it could no longer act to advantage, did not leave any room to doubt of the propriety of its removal; and since my determination

termination taken on the 7th instant, I have exerted every expedient to accomplish the arduous task, which was executed on the 17th following in the forenoon, without the least molestation from the rebels, the transports having been previously watered, and fitted for sea in every respect, excepting the article of provisions, in the view of complying with his Majesty's commands for a movement from Boston, as soon as I might be enabled to effect it.

In order to explain to your Lordship more clearly the state I was reduced to in the article of provisions, I have enclosed a return, extracted from the commissary general's reports between the 12th of February and 4th of March; also the tonnage of transports at the time of embarkation.

The rebels about the latter end of January erected new works and batteries on a point of land opposite to West Boston, at a place known by the name of Phipps's Farm, which laying under cover of their strongest points, and so situated, as to be supported by their whole force from Cambridge, was not to be prevented; soon afterwards the militia of the country was called in, and having intelligence that the enemy intended to possess themselves of Dorchester Neck, I ordered a detachment from Castle William, on the 13th of February, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Leslie, and one composed of grenadiers and light infantry from Boston, commanded by Major Musgrave, to pass over the ice, with directions to destroy the houses and every kind of cover whatever upon the peninsula, which was executed, and six of the enemy's guard made prisoners.

On the 2d instant, at night, the rebels began a cannonade upon the town, from Roxbury and Phipps's Farm, and threw some shells from both places, without doing any personal damage, and but little to the buildings; the same was repeated on the evenings of the 3d and 4th, by which only six men were wounded; the fire being returned from our batteries, but at such a distance, as to be very uncertain in the execution.

It was discovered on the 5th in the morning, that the enemy had thrown up three very extensive works, with strong abbaties round them, on the commanding hill on Dorchester Neck, which must have been the employment of at least 12,000 men, in a situation so critical. I determined upon an immediate attack, with all the force I could transport. The ardour of the troops encouraged me in this hazardous enterprise; regiments were expeditiously embarked on board transports to fall down the harbour, and flat boats were to receive

receive other transports, making in the whole 2400 men, to rendezvous at Castle William, from whence the descent was to be made in the night of the 5th; but the wind unfortunately coming contrary, and blowing very hard, the ships were not able to get to their destination, and this circumstance also making it impossible to employ the boats, the attempt became impracticable.

The weather continuing boisterous the next day and night, gave the enemy time to improve their works, to bring up their cannon, and to put themselves into such a state of defence, that I could promise myself little success by attacking them under all the disadvantages I had to encounter; wherefore I judged it most adviseable to prepare for the evacuation of the town, upon the assurance of one month's provision from Admiral Shulldham, who, in this emergency, as he has on every occasion, offered all the assistance he could afford.

A thousand difficulties arose on account of the disproportion of transports for the conveyance of the troops, the well affected inhabitants, their most valuable property, and the quantity of military stores to be carried away; however, as the enemy gave no interruption but during the nights, and that inconsiderable, I found the whole in readiness to depart on the 14th, if the wind had favoured, and assisted by the abilities and assiduity of Captains Reynar and Montagu, of his Majesty's ships Chatham and Fowey, who superintended the embarkation, and by the alacrity of the officers under them, this operation was effected on the 17th, and the rear guard embarked at nine o'clock in the morning, without the least loss, irregularity, or accident. Such military stores as could not be taken on board were destroyed, and the utmost expedition is now using to get ready for sea in the best state our circumstances will allow; the admiral having all the ships of war he can spare from the convoy, for the security and protection of such vessels as may be bound for Boston.

Every provision my situation would afford has been made for the accommodation of the inhabitants, and the preservation of their effects; all the woollen goods also that I could find room for, belonging to those who chose to stay behind, the want of which is more distressing to the enemy than any other article whatever, has been shipped; inventories of them taken in the best manner possible, and put under the charge of proper persons, in order to be hereafter stored. The demolition of the castle has been effectually executed, and an armed ship is sent by the admiral, express, to advise the different governors on the continent of this removal.

Halifax,

Halifax, though stripped of provisions during the winter, and affording few conveniencies to so numerous a body, is the only place where the army can remain until supplies arrive from Europe. My first attention will be paid to the defence of the town, and his Majesty's dock-yard, and to enable Governor Legge to overcome the spirit of disaffection which has lately appeared in the northern parts of Nova Scotia; after which, I conclude that three battalions, with Goreham's and Maclean's corps, will be a sufficient force for its protection.

I shall also detach three regiments to Quebec, as soon as the navigation of the river St. Lawrence becomes practicable, if I do not, in the mean time, hear any thing to the contrary from Europe. The remainder of the army, which after these detachments are made, may consist of about 5000 men, including sick, will be held in readiness to proceed to New York, when enabled by a supply of provisions, and an addition of transports sufficient for that undertaking: and although the force, according to the present estimation, intended to go on this service, is too small to expect more from it than the possession of the town, which, in itself, is a most important post, I shall attempt it at all hazard as soon as possible, apprehending it will be more adviseable to pursue this measure without delay, than by waiting for reinforcements from Europe, whereof I have no certainty, to give the rebels time to form an army in the province of New York, and to check the encouragement they will receive from the apparent inactivity of the King's army retired to Halifax, as well as to prevent the contrary effect it may have upon the few friends to government remaining there.

I am justly sensible how much more conducive it would be to his Majesty's service, if the army was in a situation to proceed immediately to New York; but the present condition of the troops, crowded in transports, without regard to conveniencies, the inevitable dissortment of stores, and all the incumbrances with which I am clogged, effectually disable me from the exertion of this force in any offensive operations, although I should receive a supply of provisions before my departure from hence, which considerations, I hope, will lead his Majesty to approve of my determination.

Unless these supplies are sent under convoy, or of force to defend themselves, they will become very precarious, as the rebels have greatly increased their naval strength; and I fear that many of those now on their voyage will fall into the enemy's hands, notwithstanding all the efforts which his Ma-

jeſty's

jeſty's ſhips, unequal in point of number to the ſervice they are upon, can make. In this perſuaſion, I humbly ſubmit to your Lordſhip whether it would not be an adviſeable meaſure, to order all convoys directly to Halifax, from whence they may proceed with more certainty to the future deſtination of the army.

I beg leave to remark, that the laſt commands I had the honour to receive from your Lordſhip, are dated the 22d of October, which will ſerve to ſhew the difficulties ſhips bound to this poſt have met with on the coaſt, many whereof, I learn by the maſter of a veſſel juſt arrived here, have been forced to the Weſt Indies, and no leſs than 37 ſail of different kinds were at Antigua the laſt of this month, when he left that iſland.

I ſhall not fail to write as fully as poſſible to your Lordſhip from Halifax.

I am, &c.

W. HOWE.

P. S. The tranſports which brought over the 27th regiment are arrived from Halifax, in conſequence of orders ſent to Brigadier Maſſey, ſome time ago, and will afford great relief to the army in its preſent crowded ſtate.

State of Proviſions remaining in Store at Boſton, on the 12th, 19th, 26th of February, and 4th March, 1776, per Returns of thoſe Dates, received from the Commiſſary General of Stores; ſhewing how long the ſame will victual 11,000 Men.

Feb. 12th, 1776. Beef and pork, 35 days; wheat flour, 72 days; bread, 12 days; butter and cheeſe 13 days; oil, 32 days; ſplit peaſe, peaſe and oatmeal, 2 days; barley, ſuet, rice and raiſins, reſerved for the uſe of the general hoſpitals.

Feb. 19th. Beef and pork 29 days; wheat flour, 65 days; bread, 12 days; butter and cheeſe, 12 days; oil, 32 days; ſplit peaſe, peaſe and oatmeal, 9 days; barley, ſuet, rice and raiſins, reſerved for the uſe of the general hoſpital.

Feb. 26th. Beef and pork, 22 days; wheat flour, 68 days; bread, 12 days; butter and cheeſe, almoſt 6 days; oil, 32 days; ſplit peaſe, peaſe and oatmeal, almoſt 6 days; barley, ſuet, rice and raiſins, reſerved for the uſe of the general hoſpital.

March 4th. Beef and pork, almoſt 17 days; wheat and flour, almoſt 63 days; bread, 16 days; butter and cheeſe, almoſt 12 days;

A. 1779.

D E B A T E S.

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12 days; oil, 32 days; split pease, pease and oatmeal, 10 days; rice, 27 days; suet, barley and raisins, reserved for the use of the general hospital.

(Signed) W. HOWE.

Copy of a Letter from the Earl of Dartmouth to Major General Howe, dated Whitehall, 27th October 1775.

[Received 26th March 1776.]

SIR,

IT being judged expedient that in order to forward the recruiting for the regiments serving in North America, the commission and non-commission officers appointed to one of the additional companies should be sent to Great Britain by the earliest opportunity; and also that one or more commissioned officers, as you shall think proper, should be sent home from each corps to assist in escorting the recruits from hence as occasion shall require: I am commanded by the King to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure, that you do consult with the commander in chief of his Majesty's ships in North America upon the best means of finding a passage for such of the said commission and non-commission officers as are to come from Boston and its neighbourhood, either on board any of his Majesty's large ships of war that may be under orders to return to England, or on board such transport vessels as you may be able to spare at the time this letter will reach you.

With regard to those which are to come from Florida, being only three commission and three non-commission officers, such allowance must be made to them as will enable them to defray the expence of their passage on board any ships that may offer from either of those provinces, unless they shall find it more convenient to repair to Boston or New York, in which case they will take their passage with the rest, the numbers of which, according to the return made to me by the war-office, will be as follows, viz.

From Boston and the neighbourhood.

	Officers.	Non-commissioned Officers.
18th and 59th regiments	51	124
Additional companies of 18 battalions	36	72
Officers to return home on duty, at least	18	
Florida	105	196
One Regiment	3	4

It is presumed that besides the abovementioned commission and non-commission officers, there may be a considerable number of invalids and discharged men, which it will be expedient to send home at the same time, and likewise some commission officers, who may have leave to return, you will therefore include them in any estimate you shall form for the freight that will be wanted; and I hope that a sufficient quantity of shipping may be spared, without the hazard of sending any from hence at this late season of the year.

Inclosed I send you his Majesty's speech to both houses of parliament, upon the opening of the session yesterday, together with their addresses in return thereto, which I hope will have the effect to convince the leaders of rebellion in America of the firm resolution of every branch of the legislature, to maintain the dignity and authority of parliament, and open the eyes of those who have been misled by their wicked artifices.

You will see by his Majesty's speech, that motion is made of negotiation with foreign powers for auxiliary troops; but it is with great concern I acquaint you that our prospect of succeeding in our treaty with the Empress of Russia, of which we had so good an expectation, is at best but doubtful, and in the present situation is a circumstance of much embarrassment and disappointment.

I am, &c.

DARTMOUTH.

Copy of a Letter from the Earl of Dartmouth to the Honourable Major-general Howe, dated Whitehall, 8th Nov. 1775.

[Received 26th March 1776.]

SIR,

SINCE my letter to you of the 22d of October, triplicate of which I inclose, the plan, the object, and the probable effect of the intended expedition to the southern provinces have been maturely considered, and the King has thought fit that the force should be augmented by an addition of the 28th and 46th regiments; so that the whole will consist of seven regiments.

It has been found upon examination, that Cape Fear River will not admit ships of a large draught of water, on account of its bar; so large a body of troops therefore cannot receive from the fleet that is to accompany them that protection and assistance which is necessary in their disembarkation, and consequently

frequently there is much doubt whether the object of sending a force there can be accomplished.

As my letter to you, however, directs that the general officer who is to have the command should repair to Cape Fear, the regiments from hence will be directed to proceed thither, and the commander in chief will be instructed to confer with Governor Martin, and consider whether it will be practicable to effect any essential service in North Carolina, with such a part of the army as can be conveniently landed.

Should that be the case, he will proceed with the rest of the troops, or otherwise with the whole of them, to South Carolina, and after advising with the governor upon the best means of executing the service he is sent upon, according to the instructions he will receive from me, he will either land the troops at Charles Town, or proceed to Port Royal harbour.

The inclosed copies of my letters of yesterday's date to Governor Martin and Lord William Campbell, will not only point out to you the orders I have given to them respecting this expedition, but will also explain to you our ideas of the possible advantage that is to be expected from it: I say of the possible advantage, because the effect of it is very precarious.

If however it should succeed according to the assurances that have been given us, in encouraging the friends of government to stand forth in the defence of the constitution, and in enabling them to wrest the sword out of the hands of the rebels, it will be a great point gained. But even if it should fail of that consequence, it can have no effect to weaken the operation to the northward, as there are many situations in the southern provinces where the army may be posted with great security, and with every advantage of a healthy climate, until the season arrives for their joining the body of forces under your command, a junction that will be made with greater advantage, and at a much earlier period than it could be from England.

I am, &c.

DARTMOUTH.

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germain to the Hon. Major General Howe, dated Whitehall, 18th Nov. 1775.
[Received 26th March 1776.]

SIR,

Lieutenant General Gage arrived here the 14th instant, and I have had the honour to lay before the King your dispatches of the 5th and 9th October.

It was a great satisfaction to me to receive, so early after my coming into office, your ideas of the plan of operations in the ensuing spring, and of the force necessary for carrying that plan into execution.

Every effort will be used to send you as early as possible the reinforcement that will be wanted; and although our negotiation for foreign auxiliaries has not succeeded according to our expectations, and our recruits come in but slowly, yet I have no doubt that if we are not deceived in the propositions which have been made for raising some new corps, and the engagements which have been entered into for procuring levies in Germany, we shall enable you to take the field with an army of 20,000 men.

Of the five regiments which were under orders to sail from Cork for America, in the course of last month, the 17th, 27th, and 55th, have proceeded upon their voyage; but the 28th and 46th having been forced by contrary winds to put back, the King has thought fit to add them to the armament preparing for an expedition to the southern Colonies, and I hope that before the end of this month, the troops destined for that service will have been embarked.

All the advices which have been received of the state of the southern provinces, since the first idea of that expedition was taken up, tend to shew the propriety of it, and to confirm us in our hopes, that it will be attended with advantage and success; and I have no doubt that the whole or the greatest part of the regiments, employed upon that occasion, will join the army under your command much earlier, and in a better state for service, than if they were sent from hence in the spring.

I am, &c.

GEORGE GERMAIN.

Extract

Extract of a Letter from Lord George Germain to Major General Howe, dated Whitehall, 5th January 1776.

[Received 26th March.]

I WAS preparing to write to you by a ship of war under orders for Boston, when Major General Burgoyne arrived here on the 27th of December, with your dispatches, by the Boyne, which have been laid before the King.

The reasons you assign for not removing from Boston, in consequence of Lord Dartmouth's letters of the 5th of September, fully justify your resolution on that head; and from the best judgment I am able to form of things, as they now appear, I am inclined to think, that even if you could have procured a sufficient quantity of shipping to have effected an evacuation of the place in the manner you suggest, it would have been for many reasons an unadvisable measure.

Your ideas for the plan of operation for the army under your command in the ensuing campaign, are, in general, approved by the King: but I shall write to you more fully upon that subject in a separate letter, confining myself, at present, to the consideration of those parts of your letters which suggest the means of augmenting your force to what is necessary for that plan, and to an explanation of the arrangements we are making for that purpose, and for supplying, as far as is practicable, the several articles of which you have made requisition.

By your calculation, the number of men wanting to complete the several battalions, stated in your paper of distribution, so that each battalion shall have 500 men for the field, amounts to 6100 men: but as the plan of augmentation, by incorporating 100 men into each battalion from the foreign troops in British pay, is liable to many objections, from the nature and custom of their service; and I cannot yet say, whether it will be practicable to get any assistance from the militia in the manner you propose; you must depend for the augmentation you wish upon the number of levies that will be raised by recruiting, (which, I am sorry to say, goes on slowly) and upon such additional battalions as we shall be able to send you. You are therefore to add to the 42d regiment, which will be 1000 men complete, two other battalions of 1000 each, which will be raised upon a plan proposed by General Frazer, and approved by the King, and which it is hoped will be ready to embark for Boston, with the 42d regiment, early in the month of April.

You will also be furnished with an additional battalion for the armament going out upon an expedition to the southern colonies, which now consists, as you will see by the inclosed copy of my letter of instructions to Major General Clinton, of seven regiments; and therefore admitting that it should become necessary to leave two regiments to the southward, (and I trust it will not be necessary to leave more) there will be one battalion collected from that service more than you have included in your calculation.

The addition of General Frazer's corps, and of one battalion from the southern expedition, and supposing the recruits to amount to 2000 men, will make an augmentation to your force of about 4400 men; and I speak with some degree of confidence, when I say, that I trust we shall be able to send you a separate corps of foreign troops, not less than 10,000 men; for although our negociation with Russia has failed, we are now in treaty with other states for different corps, amounting in the whole to upwards of 17,000 men, and I think those treaties are brought so near to an issue, that they cannot fail.

The additional quantity of tonnage of shipping which you state to be wanting for the entire evacuation of Boston, is very large; but it will in great measure, if not altogether, be supplied by the store ships already gone out, and by a much greater number that are now preparing to be sent, all which will be at your disposal after they arrive, and have landed their cargoes; but should these not be enough, means will be found to supply the deficiency.

Your demand for waggons and horses involves a greater difficulty; for I am sorry to say, I think it is impossible to be complied with, in the extent in which it is stated; and therefore I could wish to be satisfied in my own mind, that it is not necessary, and that, supposing the worst to happen, the nature of the operations will be such, that a great part of the service for which waggons and horses are demanded may be performed by water carriage.

With this hope, I have pressed forward the supply of flat-bottomed boats, of which 32 are already sent out, and also 10 yawls, and as many cutters, and 40 more boats are now in hand, and will be ready to go out by the first ships. Some horses, however, for the use of the artillery, and for the carriage of tents, must be procured, and I shall consult General Harvey and General Burgoyne, as to the numbers that will be wanted for that purpose.

Upon

Upon inquiring at the office of ordnance, I find that the demand made in August last, for intrenching tools, and of those articles that were wanting in the engineer's department, had been supplied: directions, however, will be given for a second supply of the same sort, and for double the quantity of those articles of that supply which were on board the Nancy brig.

With regard to the supply of provisions, forage, and other stores, stated in the returns you have transmitted to me, the care of that business belongs to the treasury department, and I have no doubt that the utmost activity will be used in every step that is necessary to be taken.

It is impossible to turn one's thoughts to Canada without regretting the unfortunate situation of the King's affairs in that country, and lamenting the obstacles which prevented the execution of the measure you had with so proper a zeal proposed for the safety of it, and which, I will venture to say, could not have failed: but when I say this, I am not to presume that Admiral Graves had not good reasons for refusing to adopt it; at the same time, hoping, that whatever his reasons were, they will be fully inquired into in the proper department.

My business is to consider the means by which Quebec, if possible, may be relieved, or if lost, how we may recover it: but as it can be of no use to explain to you all the steps I have taken for that purpose, I will only say, that, independent of the efforts we shall make very early to relieve the town, I hope, that by the first or second week in March, we shall be able to send General Carleton at least 10,000 men.

The King approves the arrangement you propose, in respect to an adjutant general and a quarter master general, and also your attention to Major Rogers, of whose firmness and fidelity we have received further testimony from Governor Tryon, and there is no doubt but you will find the means of making him useful.

Lieutenant Bourmaster's behaviour does him great credit, and I will not fail to recommend him to Lord Sandwich; in the mean time, I have communicated to the Lords of the admiralty what you say of that gentleman in an official letter, and also what you represent of the necessity of sending out seamen, to complete the transports to their proper numbers, and your ideas of the propriety of augmenting the number of seamen on board the King's ships to a war establishment.

I am to suppose that Admiral Graves had good reasons for the step he took to destroy the town of Falmouth, and that he

did not proceed to that extremity without an absolute refusal on the part of the inhabitants to comply with those requisitions stated in the orders he received from the lords of the admiralty, which, however, does not appear from any account I have seen of that transaction.

In your letter of the 26th November, No. 2, you define more particular directions, in regard to the effects and merchandise in the town of Boston, on which head it is the King's pleasure, that, if practicable, the whole should be removed and put into store, either at Halifax, or some other place of safety, so that the British merchant may have a chance, at least, to recover some of the property for which he can never be paid. At the same time, I am to repeat to you what was said of Mr. Pownall's letter, that you must use your own discretion, according as circumstances shall point out at the time of your removal; for, however desirable it may be that those goods and merchandise should be secured, it is an object that must not be attended to, if it should be found to be accompanied with such difficulty, as to create any embarrassment or hazard in your removal; for supposing such a case, the destruction of these goods and merchandise will be fully justified.

With regard to the battalion, and detachment of artillery, serving in North America, it is to be understood that you do not fill up any vacancies but in the rank of second lieutenants, in which rank you may grant commissions, and also in all other corps, below the rank of a field officer, which commissions will be confirmed by his Majesty.

Extract of a Letter from General Howe to Lord George Germain, dated Halifax, 25th April 1776.

[Received 4th June.]

BY the arrival of the Milford in Nantasket-Road, on the 26th March, I was honoured with your Lordship's dispatches of the 5th January, with a copy of his Majesty's instructions for Major General Clinton's conduct to the southward, as well as other letters, duplicates, and inclosures of a distant date, which I defer answering by the present conveyance, of a small unarmed sloop returning to England, in the service of the navy, as I intend to write fully by the Harriet packet lately arrived, and to sail in a few days with Governor Legge; wherefore I shall confine myself in this to a few particulars more immediately necessary to be communicated to your
Lordship

Lordship for his Majesty's information, accompanied by duplicates of my dispatch from Nantasket, to be delivered by Judge Brown.

The 47th regiment of foot sailed from hence the 20th instant for Quebec, under convoy of the Niger frigate, which may be a seasonable relief, should it arrive before the force sent from England early in the spring, as mentioned in your Lordship's letter of the 5th January. Captain Stanton of the 14th infantry, who arrived here on the 21st, in the Harriet packet, informs, that this reinforcement was a regiment of foot, and as I trust that two regiments will be sufficient to preserve the town, until the arrival of the troops from Europe intended for that quarter, I do not propose sending any more from hence. The officer who set out for Quebec in the winter, as taken notice of in my letter to Lord Dartmouth of the 16th of January, not being yet returned, I have no account of any kind from thence.

The fleet and transports sailed in two divisions from Nantasket-Road, the last with the Admiral on the 27th of March, and got in here the second instant. But I am sorry to inform your Lordship, that a brig loaded with valuable goods, chiefly belonging to persons deemed to be highly disaffected to government, and not being ready to sail with the fleet, has been since taken by three armed vessels, after parting company with the Niger frigate left to convoy her, and some other vessels in the same situation. A midshipman was on board, with a serjeant and twelve soldiers, for her protection, who, after defending themselves with great obstinacy, were at length compelled to surrender. We feel this loss the more at present, as there were a quantity of shoes on board, which are much wanted for the soldiery, as well as woollen articles, that would have been very useful to them.

By some masters of vessels, who had been prisoners at Salem, and obtained liberty to return to England, we learn, that the rebel general is gone to New York with a part of his army, having before detached a large reinforcement to Canada, and those left behind were erecting works upon Fort Hill, in the town of Boston. By the arrival here of Captain Wallace, commanding the Rose frigate, I am also informed that the rebels are fortifying Rhode Island; but I do not apprehend they can prevent his Majesty's troops from taking possession of it, when the strength of the army will admit of a division for that important service, as it can be approached by shipping in every part.

New York being the greater object of the two, and the possession of it more extensive in its consequences, as well as more conducive to the credit of his Majesty's arms, will be my principal aim, when enabled to proceed thither by a sufficient supply of provisions, since both services cannot be undertaken with the present force; and it is become highly necessary that the first exertion of the army should be directed to the most important purposes, to check the spirit which the evacuation of Boston will naturally raise among the rebels. In this disposition, it is probable that their leaders, urged by the people, and flushed with an idea of superiority, may be the readier brought to a decisive action, than which nothing is more to be desired or sought for by us, as the most effectual means to terminate this expensive war; and I have the greatest reason to be sanguine in my hopes of success, from the present health and high order of the army. If this cannot be effected before the reinforcements arrive from Europe, it is most likely that they will act upon the defensive, by having recourse to strong intrenched situations, in order to spin out the campaign, if possible, without exposing themselves to any decisive stroke.

In consequence of his Majesty's approbation, for the appointment of an adjutant-general to this army, I have appointed Lieutenant Colonel Paterfon, of the 63d regiment, to that office, having a thorough confidence in his abilities and military knowledge. Major Kemble having long done the duty of deputy adjutant-general, and being nearly connected with General Gage, I should hope your Lordship will be pleased to recommend him to his Majesty's favour, upon this appointment of Lieutenant Colonel Paterfon. It is with pleasure I affirm, that Major Sheriff, deputy quarter-master general, has been lately honoured with a mark of his Majesty's favour.

Many of the principal inhabitants of Boston, under the protection of the army, having no means of subsistence here, apply to me to find them a passage to Europe, which they cannot otherwise get, than at a most exorbitant rate; they have my assurance, that the first transports which can be spared shall be given up for this purpose. I am sorry to inform your Lordship, that there is an absolute necessity for issuing provisions to the whole of them, about 1100, from the King's stores, without any prospect of stopping it. It must be confessed, that many having quitted the whole of their property and estates, some of them very considerable in value, are real objects of his Majesty's most gracious attention.

Lieutenant Colonel Grant, of the 40th, and Captain Payne, of the 18th regiments, sent to Georgia and the West Indies,

to purchase some supply of provisions, have arrived with a small quantity, of which I have given the lords commissioners of the treasury a report. A further supply was engaged, and may be daily expected from the latter place; and I have accounts, that a victualling ship for the army, blown off the coast in the winter, had got into the Island of St. Christopher much damaged, but was nearly repaired, and would sail directly for Halifax, about the 24th of March, so that I may hope for a speedy relief in this essential article.

Advices received from Major General Clinton this day, dated in Cape Fear River, the 26th of March, mention that the armament, destined to the southward, was not arrived; and I inclose, for your Lordship's information, a narrative of what has lately passed in North Carolina, with the copy of a letter from Governor Martin to Major General Clinton.

Extract of a Letter from General Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated Halifax, May 7, 1776.

[Received 4th June.]

AS I did not, in my last of 25th of April, particularly acknowledge the receipt of dispatches by the Milford frigate, I have now the honour to specify the following from the Earl of Dartmouth, viz. of 27th October, 8th November, circular of the same date; copies of letters to Lord William Campbell and Governor Martin of 7th November; duplicates of the 22d, 27th, and 28th October, 8th November, and a triplicate of 22d October.

Your Lordship's dispatches were circular of the 10th November, and duplicate; 18th November, and duplicate; copy of instructions to Major General Clinton, 6th December; letter of 23d December and 5th January.

In your Lordship's dispatch of the 5th January, mention is made of a separate letter, wherein I may expect the honour of his Majesty's commands for the operations of the ensuing campaign, which is not yet received. I hope my design of removing with the army from hence to New-York, as soon as I am enabled by a supply of provisions, may not meet with the King's disapprobation, although it should take place before I receive the letter in question; for every instant we remain here must increase our embarrassments. The fogs setting in upon the coast, may delay the
fleet

fleet upon its passage, occasion a separation, and thereby prevent the army from acting in full force upon its arrival. The enemy will be better prepared for our reception, and the reinforcements from Europe may arrive before us. From these considerations, I shall at all events get away from hence, without a moment's unnecessary delay; but I tremble when I think of our present state of provisions, having now meat for no more than thirteen days in store, with the possibility of supplies not arriving before the fogs take place, after which time, the ships may be a month upon the coast, without being able to get into port. The frost being now out of the ground, the works for a temporary security to the dock yard were begun this day.

By the addition of vessels taken into the service, and of arrivals at this port, since leaving Boston, we shall have a sufficient quantity of tonnage for the removal of the army from hence, without the inconvenience of the officers and soldiers being crowded, which was experienced on our way to this port. The greatest part of the women and children will be left, and subsisted at the usual allowance of half a ration for each woman, and one quarter for a child, in which a supply of rice, lately arrived from Georgia, will be a principal article.

By this opportunity, I have sent to the lords commissioners of the treasury, an estimate of the forage expected from the Bay of Fundy; and if we have not a sufficient quantity of hay for the 17th dragoons, that regiment will be left to follow the army as soon as it can be procured; it is now in cantonments in the neighbourhood of Windsor, for the convenience of getting hay.

I have also sent to their Lordships a return of seamen engaged in the West Indies, who are put into transports, and are a very seasonable assistance. It is at the same time humbly submitted to their Lordships' consideration, if it would not be an expedient measure to send out a naval store ship, for furnishing the transports with the several articles of rigging and stores, which they greatly need at present, particularly pitch and tar; likewise, a victualling ship for the seamen, who have no other supply than from the army stores.

Lieutenant-governor Oliver, five of the council of Massachusetts's Bay, and some of the inhabitants from thence, go to Britain at this time. The honourable Peter Oliver, esquire, chief justice of the superior court of judicature, whose steady zeal and attachment to government is well known

known to General Gage, and to whose counfels and judgment I have been indebted on many occasions, accompanies Governor Legge in the Harriet packet; and that your Lordship may know the number of persons who removed from Boston, I inclose a list of them, taken at this place, as well as a list of those embarking.

The stores destroyed, and left by the different departments, on the late removal of the army, will appear from the inclosed returns; I must own, in the ordnance branch, they have exceeded my expectations; but in that of the forage, it was inevitable from the want of shipping.

In obedience to your Lordship's commands, for a more explicit account of the expedition to Falmouth, which was entrusted to Lieutenant Mowat of the navy, assisted by a detachment of marines and artillery, I have re-examined the officer who commanded this detachment, and find that his orders from General Gage were to embark on board several armed vessels, the 6th of October 1775, and to aid and assist Lieutenant Mowat in annoying and destroying all ships and vessels belonging to the rebels on the coast and in the harbours, to the eastward of Boston: that they first examined the harbour of Cape Anne, and finding the attack upon it inexpedient, they proceeded to Falmouth, and laid the armed vessels before the town on the evening of their arrival, after which Lieutenant Mowat sent an officer on shore, with a summons to the inhabitants, to deliver up their arms and ammunition, acquainting them at the same time, that his orders directed him to destroy the town, if they did not comply with his demand, of which they should be allowed two hours to consider, and to remove their women and children: shortly after, three persons, deputed by the inhabitants, came on board, requesting a longer time, and it was agreed to wait their answer until eight o'clock next morning, about which hour the same persons returned, and reported, that the inhabitants were determined to wait their fate: within half an hour, a signal was made by Lieutenant Mowat, the vessels began a cannonade, and several carcasses were thrown into the town, which set fire to the houses, and in a few hours consumed the greatest part of them: a detachment was then landed, who completed the destruction, and reembarked without loss. The small vessels in the harbour were burnt, sunk, or brought away the 18th of October, and the armament returned to Boston the 5th November, without attempting any thing further.

Your

Your Lordship was informed in my last, that Lieutenant Colonel Grant had returned from Georgia, where he had been sent with two transports, and 170 rank and file, under convoy of the Scarborough frigate, to procure rice for the army. He found the country in open rebellion; the governor, and many of the King's friends, prisoners at large, others disarmed, and all legal authority subverted: a vessel sunk in the narrow part of the river, the town of Savannah garrisoned by 500 men, and batteries raised in the commanding grounds, to obstruct the passage of ships. Every means were used to convince the people that his designs were not hostile, that every thing required should be paid for, and their trade protected; to this they were at one time reconciled: but the violence of the mob soon overset his intentions. The only measure left was to secure the ships then in the river by surprise, which was effected by the detachment going up Back River in boats, with two or three small armed vessels, through an intricate channel, and little known, while the larger armed vessels, proceeding up the ordinary passage by way of feint, engaged their attention, and these met with every opposition the enemy could make from their cannon, or with small arms. The plan succeeded; eighteen vessels of different sizes were rescued, and brought down the back channel; more ships would have been brought off, had the detachment been stronger. Such was the rage and disappointment of the people on this occasion, that they set fire to the Inverness, a large ship richly laden, with a view of destroying the rest.

Sir James Wright and his family, narrowly escaping the search of a detachment of 150 men, sent to seize him, got on board the Scarborough, and is now here, intending to sail for England by this opportunity; this detachment, disappointed in their principal aim, fired upon a serjeant's party, sent ashore for wood, which the non-commissioned officer returned, and retired to his boat, with the loss of one man killed and scalped, one wounded, and one missing. The rebels, on the approach of troops in boats, quitted the spot. The quantity of rice obtained by Lieutenant Colonel Grant, is 1083 tierces, for which certificates were given to the owners, as the price could not be ascertained under such circumstances. Sir James Wright is the principal proprietor.

A private trader from Waterford arrived this morning, with as much beef and pork as will supply the army six days, which, though a small circumstance, may not be unpleasant

pleasing for your Lordship to know in the present situation of things.

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germain to Major General Howe, dated Whitehall, February 1, 1776.

[Received 11th May]

S I R,

SINCE my letter to you of the 5th January, every effort has been exerted, in the different departments, to bring forward the preparations for the ensuing campaign, in North America; and though the severity of the weather, almost beyond what has ever been known in this country, very much obstructs the service in the naval department; yet I am encouraged to hope, that the reinforcement for the army, under your command, will be embarked before the end of March, and that the armament intended for Quebec will be ready much sooner.

The unfortunate events which have happened in Canada, make it necessary that we should not only exert every endeavour for the relief of Quebec, as early as possible, but also for having a force there, ready to commence its operations as soon as the season will admit.

The great attention which the King shews, upon all occasions, to the rank and merit of his officers, would have led his Majesty to have appointed Major General Clinton to command upon this service, under Major General Carleton; but as his Majesty's pleasure has been already signified, that he should command the body of forces to be employed upon an expedition to the southward, and he is, by this time, probably sailed for Cape Fear, in order to wait their arrival, his Majesty has thought fit that Major General Burgoyne should act as second in command to General Carleton in Canada, and that he should proceed thither with the eight regiments from Ireland, which, I hope, will be ready to sail by the 20th of next month.

If Quebec should fall before any relief can be got thither, and Major General Carleton should unhappily not survive the loss of it, the King's intentions are, that in such an event, the command of the whole of his Majesty's forces in North America should devolve upon you. It is also his Majesty's intentions, immediately to appoint Majors General Clinton, Burgoyne, Lord Percy, and Lord Cornwallis, lieutenant generals in America: the old colonels, who now act

act as brigadiers, are to have commissions as majors general, and the other colonels will be appointed brigadiers.

In case of Major General Carleton's death, it will remain with you to dispose of the different commands, as you in your discretion shall think fit. It will consequently be in your power to leave the command of the troops on the side of Canada to Major General Burgoyne; or, if you think it more adviseable, you may appoint General Clinton to that service; and it being his Majesty's pleasure, that Major General Lord Cornwallis should be employed in Canada, he and his regiment are to be sent thither, as soon as he joins the army under your command.

In the present state of affairs in North America, the security of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland are objects of attention; and I am commanded by the King, to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure, that the two battalions of marines, now serving under your command, or any part of them you shall judge necessary, should be posted at Halifax, and that a detachment of Major Goreham's corps be posted at St. John's in Newfoundland, as a garrison will be wanted there. It is also his Majesty's pleasure, that as many of the private men of the 65th regiment as are fit for service, should be turned over to the 27th regiment, and if there are more than will complete it, you will incorporate them in any other corps; that the 27th regiment, when so completed, be joined to the army under your command; and that the commissioned and non-commissioned officers and invalids of the 65th be sent home to England.

I must not omit to acquaint you, before I leave the subject of military arrangement, that the officers of the guards have expressed such spirit and zeal for his Majesty's service, that his Majesty has ordered a detachment of a thousand men, rank and file, with officers in proportion, to serve under you in America; and I have only further to add, that the King is so desirous of expressing, upon every occasion, his royal approbation of the general officers serving in the principal ranks in America, that he has declared his intentions, that he will not employ any general officer from hence, who may be superior in rank to Majors General Clinton, Burgoyne, Lord Percy, or Lord Cornwallis.

This letter will be intrusted to the care of the commander of his Majesty's ship Greyhound, who will also deliver up to you the officers of the privateer fitted out by the rebels, under a commission from the Congress, and taken by one of

Admiral

Admiral Graves's squadron. The private men have all voluntarily entered themselves on board his Majesty's ships; but the officers having refused so to do, it has been judged fit to send them back to America, for the same obvious reasons that induced the sending back the rebel prisoners, taken in arms, upon the attack of Montreal, in September last.

It is hoped that the possession of these prisoners will enable you to procure the release of such of his Majesty's officers and loyal subjects, as are in the disgraceful situation of being prisoners to the rebels: for altho' it cannot be that you should enter into any treaty or agreement with rebels for a regular cartel for exchange of prisoners, yet I doubt not but your own discretion will suggest to you the means of effecting such exchange, without the King's dignity and honour being committed, or his Majesty's name used in any negociation for that purpose; and I am the more strongly urged to point out to you the expediency of such a measure, on account of the possible difficulties which may otherwise occur in the case of foreign troops serving in North America.

I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAIN.

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germain to Major General Howe, dated Whitehall, 7th February 1776.

[Received 11th May.]

SIR,

SINCE my letter to you of the 1st instant, I have received your dispatches of the 19th and 26th of December, by which I had the satisfaction to find that four victualling ships from England were arrived at Boston, and I have just learnt, by a note from Mr. Robinson to Mr. Pownall, that there is advice of two others having got in.

This seasonable relief to the army under your command is of great importance, at the same time the King very much approves the measures you have taken for procuring a supply of provisions from St. Eustatia, and of rice from the colony of Georgia.

His Majesty observes that you have very properly declined sending the remainder of the 65th regiment to Halifax, upon the advice you had received of the 27th being arrived there; this arrangement, however, does not make any alteration, with regard to his Majesty's intention that the commissioned and non-commissioned officers and invalids should be sent to Great Britain, but you will consider yourself at liberty to

incorporate

incorporate the private men of that regiment fit for service either into the 27th regiment or any other corps that you shall think proper. I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAIN.

Extract of a Letter from Lord George Germain to General Howe, dated Whitehall, 28th March 1776.

[Received 11th May.]

THERE being no ship of war in immediate readiness to sail for North America, I have thought fit to dispatch one of his Majesty's armed packets with this letter, that you may be informed as early as possible of the additional force you are to expect from hence, and of the present state of our preparations.

The inclosed treaties will inform you of the number of foreign auxiliary troops engaged to serve in North America, of which number 12,200 men, being the whole body of Hessians, are intended to serve in the army under your command; and the Brunswickers, Waldeckers, and the regiment of the hereditary prince of Hesse, together with the nine British battalions, and the whole of Lieutenant Colonel Maclean's corps, are to serve in Canada, under General Carleton.

The transports for the first division of Hessians, amounting to 8200 men, are already completed for embarkation. A detachment of guards, consisting of 1098 men, formed into a distinct corps, is on its march to Portsmouth; and I am not without hope that the first division of Hessians may arrive at Spithead in time, so that the whole may proceed to North America together.

It appears to me, as far as I stand informed at present, that this body of troops should proceed to Rhode-Island, and I shall take the King's pleasure for the necessary instructions accordingly; in confidence that if you approve of that destination they will find, upon their arrival there, such orders from you as will determine their further proceedings; or otherwise that a proper number of cruizers will be stationed upon the coast to watch the arrival of the fleet, and to proceed with it to such other place as you shall appoint.

The difficulties in procuring transports have been very great, and it is impossible as yet to form a guess when a sufficient number will be ready to receive the second division of the Hessians; but I trust it will not be long first, and that the
corps

corps of Highlanders consisting of the 42d and 71st regiments, making together 3466 men, which are nearly if not entirely completed, will embark by the Clyde the 20th of next month at farthest.

The delays and disappointments which have attended the armament sent out to the southern colonies have been greater than could have been expected; and as the fleet did not leave Cork before the 12th of last month, and afterwards met with very tempestuous weather, in which many ships were separated, and put back in distress, there is but little hope that any of the objects of that expedition can be obtained; and therefore I received the King's command to dispatch a vessel after the fleet, with a letter to Major General Clinton, of which I inclose you a copy, and also of the instructions sent at the same time by the admiralty to Sir Peter Parker.

The effect of these orders will probably be that the whole, or at least the greatest part of that armament, will join you as early as the troops can arrive from hence, so that you may be able to open the campaign in the month of May or beginning of June.

Our recruiting for some time went on very slowly, and the men raised in Ireland will be of very little use to you; since the parties have been removed to England, we have had better success, and the recruits raised may make soldiers: they will be sent over to you by different ships as opportunities offer, or whenever a number is collected, sufficient to be the object of a separate embarkation; but there is no prospect that we shall be able to procure in time for this campaign, all that are necessary to complete the augmentation.

I observe that in your disposition of the battalions under your command, you include the 6th regiment at St. Vincent's, and therefore it was the King's intention to give you that regiment complete, by turning over to it the effective men of the 48th; but the slow progress made in forming the additional battalions and companies of the Royal Americans, has made it impossible to take both the 6th and 48th from the ceded Islands for the present: and therefore all that we can do is to give you the 6th regiment in its present state, and you will therefore send for it, when you can spare transports for that purpose; and as there are many recruits already raised for that corps, they will be sent immediately to you, by which means that battalion will be tolerably complete.

With regard to the service on the side of Canada and the operations of the force to be employed there (of the extent

of which you are already informed) it will depend upon the situation of affairs in that province; but if the rebels shall in consequence of their repulse and defeat on the 31st of December, have given up all thoughts of conquest on that side, which is most probably the case, there is good ground to hope that the army will be able to advance into the other colonies, by the passage of the lakes, and accordingly every proper preparation has been made here that can give facility to such a plan.

As far as I can judge of what is likely to be the general plan of operations in North America, and indeed in all events the securing the affection and assistance of our old friends and allies, the Indians of the Six Nations, is a consideration of no small importance; and I hope Colonel Guy Johnson, who is now here, and is preparing to return by the first ship, will be found useful.

The King has been pleased to give him the same commission and appointments as were given to Sir William Johnson in 1756, and he is in all respects made subject to your direction and controul; you will therefore employ him in such manner and give him such instructions as you shall think necessary and proper.

I have already acquainted you, in my letter of the 1st of February, of his Majesty's intention to give higher rank to his general officers serving in North America, and inclosed send you a list of the commissions which have been signed by his Majesty for that purpose, with the date of each commission respectively.

You will observe that the rank given by these commissions is confined to America only, but it is hoped that this arrangement will have the effect to prevent any embarrassment or inconvenience which might otherways arise from the general officers of the foreign troops claiming the command in consequence of their superior rank.

In your letters of the 16th and 22d of January, No. 7 and 8, you express a wish to receive instructions concerning the corps under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Maclean and Gorham; I have therefore made enquiry into that matter, and find that his Majesty's pleasure was signified by my predecessor in office to the commander in chief, authorizing him to raise such corps and to grant commissions for that purpose; but the officers were not to be entitled to half pay, or to have any other rank than what was allotted to the like corps in the last war.

With regard to the bounty money and pay of these provincial levies, I apprehend that the commander in chief must supply the sums necessary for that purpose, but the proper steps have been taken for supplying them here with cloathing, arms and accoutrements, and also with tents and other camp necessities.

These are the regulations which were thought fit with respect to those corps, and they will equally apply to the Nova Scotia regiment, or any other provincial corps which may be raised in America, for his Majesty's service, in the present rebellion.

I must not conclude this letter without congratulating you upon the appointment of Lord Howe to be the naval commander in chief in North America. The choice his Majesty has been pleased to make of so able and experienced an officer has given universal satisfaction, and will I am persuaded have the most happy consequences. I am, &c.

GEO GERMAIN.

P. S. You will observe that in speaking of the force to be employed in Canada, I have mentioned only nine British battalions, in which I have not included Lord Cornwallis's regiment, which I acquainted you, in my letter of the 1st of February, was to be sent to Quebec as soon as it returned from the expedition to the southward.

Copy of a Letter from General Howe to Lord George Germain, dated Halifax, 12th May 1776.

[Received 4th June.]

MY LORD,

By detaining for a few hours the Glasgow ship of war, returning to England, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's dispatches, bearing date the 28th March, with two duplicates of the 1st and 7th February, several enclosures, treaties, &c. which were taken out of the packet by a cruizer, and brought in here last night; but as they seem upon the first reading to require nothing more than my steady obedience, I defer answering them particularly until the next opportunity, which I expect to be in a few days.

It is with much concern I find, that by the promotion of Brigadier General Robertson to the command of a battalion of the 60th regiment, he is taken from the staff of this army. His spirited conduct during the course of last winter, particularly upon the intended attack of the enemy's works at Dorchester, does him great honour; and in consequence of his

earnest request to serve here this campaign, I have presumed to put his name in orders to act as major general, to which, by his particular desire, there will not be any pay annexed, lest the King should be pleased to require his service in some other quarter, or to disapprove of my appointing the brigadier to this local rank, by his Majesty's commission being withheld.

I am, &c.

W. Howe.

Extract of a Letter from General Howe to Lord George Germain, dated Halifax, 3d June 1776.

[Received 5th July.]

I have the honour of your Lordship's dispatch of 2d February, inclosing his Majesty's warrant to explain and confirm under the King's sign manual, the powers with which I am vested to post officers to vacancies, as were before expressed in your Lordship's letter 5th January.

Permit me, my Lord, to represent that when his Majesty was pleased to order two additional companies to each regiment under my command, one of them to be formed by a regular regimental promotion, and the officers to return to Britain for the purpose of recruiting the company, I did, with a scrupulous regard to his Majesty's pleasure, make the appointments accordingly, reporting my reasons for the few deviations that occurred. Notwithstanding this, I have the mortification to find that my appointments on their arrival were not confirmed, and that all those ensigns who had merited promotion by their personal good behaviour, and who have ever since been doing duty as such, remain superseded by others commissioned in Britain.

Many appointments have also been received from the War Office since the 5th of January, on vacancies that have happened under my command, and which of course have been filled up on the spot, occasioning such embarrassment and confusion in the army, that I have been obliged to give the inclosed order to prevent murmurs, and remove all doubts in consequence of those double promotions, until his Majesty's further pleasure is known.

I beg leave therefore to entreat your Lordship to lay before his Majesty the particular situation of the gentlemen aggrieved, and to present my humble request that his Majesty may be graciously pleased to confirm them in their respective ranks, permitting me to issue pay to the ensigns appointed at home, by recommendation from the War Office, until vacancies

cies happen in the different regiments for their admission, in which view I shall keep all ensigncies open in expectation of his Majesty's further pleasure. I must also flatter myself that directions may be given to prevent the like inconveniences in future, as his Majesty's service, by their continuance, must be greatly impeded.

Copy of a Letter from General Howe to Lord George Germain, dated Halifax, 4th June 1776. [Received 5th July.]

MY LORD,

THE mercantile goods at Boston having attracted your Lordship's regard, as well as that of Lord Dartmouth, I took such measures as were most adviseable to answer the purposes required, which will appear from the inclosed detail of what has been done; and although the design has been mostly frustrated, by the loss of the principal ship, yet to set this matter in a clear light, and to lodge, as it were, a record of the transaction, I beg leave to trouble your Lordship with the particulars relative to it, the main object being to deprive the rebels of what they stood most in need, the goods in possession will remain in store at Halifax.

It is found that the regiment projected by Governor Legge to be raised within the province of Nova Scotia, cannot be completed; and to relieve government from unnecessary expence, I have taken the liberty to put this corps into a different form after the 24th instant, leaving an opening for all concerned to entitle themselves to their present appointments, by success in recruiting. This regulation is enclosed for your Lordship's approbation, and I am, &c. W. HOWE.

Extract of a Letter from General Howe to Lord George Germain, dated Halifax, 7th June 1776. [Received 5th July.]

ON the 11th of May I had the honour of your Lordship's dispatches of 28th March by the Despencer packet, with duplicates of the 1st and 7th of February, the originals of which were delivered by Captain Dickson, commanding the Greyhound frigate, on the 16th following.

I have suffered the most sensible mortification, by being so long detained at this place; but the late arrivals of the provision ships, and the repairing of those included in the number requisite for transporting the troops, a return of which was forwarded to the lords commissioners of the treasury, in my dispatch of the 8th of May, have made an earlier removal impracticable. The troops, however, are at length embarked, waiting only for favourable weather to proceed to Sandy Hook. In the early operations there, I shall have the closest attention to the reinforcements daily expected, and not hazard any disadvantageous attacks. In this idea I at present think it will be most adviseable to make a landing upon Long Island, in order to secure the passage of the shipping into the harbour, which

which only can be effected by the possession of a commanding height near Brooklyn, said to be fortified. Should the enemy offer battle in the open field, we must not decline it; and from the high order the troops are now in, I have every reason to flatter myself with success, which once obtained, and prosecuted immediately upon the arrival of the reinforcements, would not fail to have the most intimidating effects upon the minds of those deluded people.

When General Clinton joins the army, to which purpose I have wrote to him consonant to the orders he will have received from your Lordship, a copy of which you were pleased to transmit to me, if we should not find our strength sufficient to afford a division of the army, previous to the arrival of the Hessians, we may nevertheless proceed to force the rebels from the island of New York, or to such other operation as may be deemed most conducive to his Majesty's service. But General Clinton must have a part of the Hessians with him on the side of Rhode Island, and a personal communication with General de Heister will arrange their business more to the satisfaction of all parties than could be done separately, or by letter, to meet him upon the coast. The admiral, therefore, at my request, has sent orders to the cruizers not only off Rhode Island, but to all others on the northern coast, to direct the troops from Europe to proceed to New York, from whence they may more distinctly be ordered to their several destinations for the operations of the campaign; and that no time may be lost in disposing the troops for action, after the arrival of the fleet at New-York, I intend to proceed in a frigate to Sandy Hook, that I may have the advantage of communicating with Governor Tryon, for obtaining the best information of the state of the rebel army in the environs of that place, and that I may be ready to receive the Hessians in case of their arrival before the fleet from hence.

My best endeavours shall be employed to engage the assistance of the Indians of the Six Nations, and I hope, by the influence of Colonel Guy Johnson, to make them useful.

Admiral Shulldham having sent me the copy of a letter he has lately received from the lords commissioners of the admiralty, relative to the transports being taken from under the orders of the commander in chief of the land forces, I beg leave to represent to your Lordship, that I apprehend such a disposal of them will greatly impede the service, from the necessity the land officer must be under of making applications to the admiral on every movement for the convenience of the troops, and for a variety of services, needless to point out to your Lordship: Wherefore I am hopeful I may not receive any order for a change in the present command over them.

The

The advanced rank which the King has been pleased to confer upon the general officers serving in this country, is received by those here with the highest sense of the most dutiful respect for his Majesty's royal attention, and by no one more gratefully than myself. I shall not fail to communicate to Lieutenant General Clinton his Majesty's particular regard to the seniority of his rank, which would have placed him second in command in Canada, had he not been previously employed to the southward. My last intelligence from that quarter was dated the 28th of April, and as five or six transports had then arrived, I must conclude the whole force is collected there before this time.

The 47th regiment not being included in your Lordship's distribution of troops destined for Canada, I shall presume it may now remain in the place of the 33d, but shall pay due obedience to the orders for Lord Cornwallis's serving in that army. The 6th regiment cannot be employed early in the campaign; as I shall not have it in my power to send transports for them until after my arrival at New York.

The rebel prisoners are returned in the Greyhound, and I shall use my endeavours to follow your Lordship's directions respecting them and others in the same predicament.

It is with concern I am to advise your Lordship of another ordnance store-ship, named the Hope, being taken in Boston Bay. She had a large proportion of entrenching tools on board, and it is said 1500 barrels of powder.

The appointment of Lord Howe to the chief command in the naval department, upon this extensive coast, is a circumstance that could not fail to give me the highest satisfaction; and I promise myself, from his experience, every assistance that can be given in the prosecution of the conjunct war we are now entering upon.

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germain to General Howe, dated Whitehall, 25th April 1776. [Received 6th June.]

SIR,

CAPTAIN Emmerick, who will have the honour to deliver this letter to you, served several years in the corps of Hanoverian rangers, was employed last war in many situations, in which confidence and ability were requisite, and acquitted himself with great credit and honour.

He is now under the protection of government here, and being desirous of employment in North America, I am commanded to recommend him to your attention; and as he certainly may be very useful in many situations, I am persuaded you will soon discover his merit, and employ him to his own and the public advantage.

I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAIN.

Extra

Extract of a Letter from Lord Geo. Germain to Gen. Howe dated Whitehall, 27th April 1776. [Received 6th June.]

SIR,

INCLOSED I have the honour to send you the embarkation returns of the first division of the Hessian troops, which division, or the greatest part of it, being arrived at Spithead, and the detachment of guards being embarked, the whole has orders to proceed to sea immediately, under the instructions contained in the inclosed copies of my letters to Lieutenant General Heister, and to the lords of the admiralty.

It was hoped and expected that Lord Howe would have proceeded with this embarkation; but the necessary arrangements, respecting the very important commission of offer of pardon and negotiation, in which he and you are joined, make that very doubtful; and therefore the transports will probably proceed under convoy of the Preston, on board which Commodore Hotham hoists his broad pendant.

Lord Howe will, it is hoped, not be detained many days here, and, therefore, there is the greatest probability that if the embarkation should have proceeded without him, his Lordship being in a single ship, will arrive before the troops, and in time to settle all the arrangements that may be necessary to be made, in consequence of their destination.

I have already acquainted you in my letter of the 28th March, of which I now enclose a duplicate, that the 42d and 71st regiments would probably embark about the 20th instant: they are certainly by this time all on board, and, I hope, ready to sail from the Clyde; and, inclosed, I send you a copy of my letter of orders to Sir William Erskine, the commanding officer of those corps. His Majesty has been pleased to give the rank of colonel in America to him, that he may be employed by you as commanding the brigade of Highlanders. You can be no stranger to his character as an officer, though you may not have served in the army with him; you may depend upon his answering your expectations, in whatever service you may employ him.

Copy of a Letter from General Howe to Lord George Germain, dated Halifax, 8th June 1776. [Received 5th July.]

MY LORD,

ON the 6th instant, the Mercury packet arrived with your Lordship's dispatches of the 27th April, duplicate 28th March, copy of your Lordship's letter of 25th April, to Lieutenant General de Heister, and several papers relative to the state of the Hessian troops; copies of letters from your Lordship to the lords commissioners of the admiralty, of 26th April, and to Sir William Erskine, of 1st same month; also copy of a letter from Colonel Faucett to the Earl of Suffolk, of 9th April.

These

These dispatches were delivered to me by Captain Emmerrick, accompanied by a letter from your Lordship, setting forth his good services in the late war; I apprehend he might be employed here to great advantage, should this contest continue for another year, by returning to Europe, and bringing a corps of 500 German chasseurs: but in the present campaign, without proper troops for him to act with, or a knowledge of the country, he can be but casually employed, yet I hope to good effect.

The utmost attention shall be given to the experience and great abilities of Sir William Erskine in the military line, and I shall with pleasure make known to him your Lordship's commands to me in his favour.

The contents of Colonel Faucitt's letter has given me much satisfaction, and I shall not fail to make a proper use of the knowledge it contains.

While writing this, I have advice that some transports with the Highlanders are arrived at the entrance of the harbour, and I am not without hopes that we shall all join under sail to-morrow.

I cannot take my leave of your Lordship without expressing my utter amazement, at the decisive and masterly strokes for carrying such extensive plans into immediate execution, as have been effected since your Lordship has assumed the conducting of this war, which is already most happily experienced by those who have the honour of serving here under your auspices. That you may finally receive the acknowledgments of a grateful country, the lasting glory which such services merit; and that I may in some degree contribute to the completion of measures so vigorously concerted, is the fervent wish of your Lordship's, &c.

WILL. HOWE.

Copy of a Letter from General Howe to Lord George Germain, dated Staten Island, 7th July 1776.

[Received 10th August.]

MY LORD,

The Mercury packet is dispatched to inform your Lordship of the arrival of the Halifax fleet, on the 29th of June, at Sandy Hook, where I arrived four days sooner in the Greyhound frigate. I met with Governor Tryon on board of ship at the Hook, and many gentlemen, fast friends to government, attending him, from whom I have had the fullest information of the state of the rebels, who are numerous and very advantageously posted with strong intrenchments both upon Long Island, and that of New York; with more than one hundred pieces of cannon for the defence of the town towards the sea, and to obstruct the passage of the fleet up the North River, besides a considerable field train of artillery. Having made enquiries of these gentlemen, respecting the face

of the country between Gravesend Bay in Long Island, and the enemy's works in the neighbourhood of Brooklyn, their accounts were so satisfactory, that I had determined to disembark the army at Gravesend, and with this intention the fleet moved up to the bay, on the first instant, in the evening, in order to land the troops at the break of day next morning; but being more particularly informed during the night, of a strong pass upon a ridge of craggy heights, covered with wood, that lay in the route the army must have taken, only two miles distant from the front of the enemy's encampment, and seven from Gravesend, which the rebels would undoubtedly have occupied before the King's troops could get up to it; and from the minutest description, judging an attack upon this post, so strong by nature, and so near the front of the enemy's works, to be too hazardous an attempt, before the arrival of the troops with Commodore Hotham, daily expected, I declined the undertaking, and passing the Narrows with three ships of war and the first division of transports, landed the grenadiers and light infantry, as the ships came up, to the great joy of a most loyal people, long suffering on that account under the oppression of the rebels stationed among them, who precipitately fled on the approach of the shipping. The remainder of the troops landed during the next day and night, and are now distributed in cantonments where they have the best refreshments.

In justice to Captain Reynar, of his Majesty's ship *Chatham*, who was directed by the admiral to make the disposition of boats for landing the troops, and to Captain Curtis, commanding the *Senegal* sloop of war, who was to superintend the execution, I must express my entire satisfaction in the conduct of those gentlemen, and the dependence to be placed upon their future services in this line.

I propose waiting here for the English fleet, or the arrival of Lieutenant-general Clinton, in readiness to proceed, unless by some unexpected change of circumstances, in the mean time, it should be found expedient to act with the present force. In case Lieutenant-gen. Clinton's southern operations should prevent his joining the army here, I am apprehensive the possession of Rhode Island, though of the most important nature, must be deferred until the arrival of the second embarkation from Europe, unless General Carleton should penetrate early into this province, which may enable me to spare a corps adequate to that service. But as I must esteem a previous impression upon the enemy's principal force, collected in this quarter, to be the first object of my attention, I shall hold it steadily in view, without losing sight of those which, comparatively, may be esteemed collateral.

Vice

Vice Admiral Shulldham was joined on his voyage by six transports belonging to the Highland corps, having three companies of the 42d and three of the 71st on board. There is no other intelligence of this embarkation, excepting an account published in the New York papers, that two transports of the fleet were taken by the enemy's privateers, and carried into Boston; that Major Menzies was killed in the engagement, and Lieutenant Colonel Campbell of the 71st made prisoner, with fifteen other officers, and about 450 men. Sir W. Erskine is among those that are absent.

Governor Franklyn, who for a long time maintained his ground in Jersey, has been lately taken into custody at Amboy, and is at this time detained a prisoner in Connecticut; and the mayor of New York was confined a few days ago, upon a frivolous complaint of his sending intelligence to Governor Tryon, brought to trial, and condemned to suffer death; but, by the last intelligence, the sentence was not carried into execution.

Notwithstanding these violent proceedings, I have the satisfaction to inform your Lordship, that there is great reason to expect a numerous body of the inhabitants to join the army from the provinces of York, the Jerseys, and Connecticut, who, in this time of universal oppression, only wait for opportunities to give proofs of their loyalty and zeal for government. Sixty men came over two days ago, with a few arms, from the neighbourhood of Shrewsbury, in Jersey, who are all desirous to serve; and I understand there are 500 more in that quarter ready to follow their example. This disposition among the people makes me impatient for the arrival of Lord Howe, concluding the powers with which he is furnished will have the best effect at this critical time: but I am still of opinion, that peace will not be restored in America until the rebel army is defeated.

I beg leave to represent to your Lordship, the inconveniency arising from the want of camp equipage at this time, which may continue during the course of this rebellion, unless sent out the year before it is to be used: also the necessity of an early supply of woollens, linen, and shoes for the provincial troops that I may retain in pay during the winter, as these things are not to be had here on any terms; and the distress of the inhabitants in general is so great, from the want of those articles, that the friends of government will suffer much, without assistance from Europe.

Lieutenant colonel Bunt, of the 4th regiment, who has my leave to return to Britain, from the particular situation of his affairs, will deliver this dispatch, and I have the honour to be, &c.

W. HOWE.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from General Howe to Lord George Germain, dated Staten Island, 8th July 1776. [Received 10th August.]

MY LORD,

HAVING yesterday submitted to the Admiral's consideration, the propriety of sending a naval force up the north river, above the town of New York, with a view to distress the rebels on that island, by obstructing supplies coming down the river, and other good consequences dependent upon that measure, which meeting with his approbation, orders are given for two ships, one of forty, and another of twenty guns, to proceed upon that service the first favourable opportunity; and I flatter myself, that these ships, more than which cannot be spared at present from the protection of the transports, will prove of sufficient force to support themselves against all attempts of the enemy from the upper river, and to answer the purposes for which they are intended.

Several men have come over to this island, and to the ships, since my letter of yesterday; and by a newspaper of the 6th I learn, that the continental Congress, on the Tuesday preceding, had declared the united Colonies free and independent states. The same paper mentions, that 30 sail of transports, a fifty-gun ship, and several small ships of war, had got over Charles Town bar, in South Carolina, without specifying the time, or any circumstance in consequence, besides a summons for the town to surrender, which was rejected; having no better authority for this intelligence than the newspaper, I decline making any observations upon it, and have the honour to be, &c.

W. HOWE.

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germain to General Howe, dated Whitehall, 3d May 1776. [Received 27th July.]

SIR,

MR. Brown, to whom you entrusted your important dispatch to Lord Dartmouth, of the 21st of March, arrived here this afternoon, and I immediately laid it before the King.

The inclosed duplicates of the letters which have been written to you since that from Lord Dartmouth, of the 22d October, which you say was the last you had received, and the copies which I also send you of Mr. Robinson's letter, will shew, that every possible attention has been given to your situation, as well as in explaining to you the measures which had been taken for an early reinforcement of your army, as in sending out ample supplies of provisions and stores of every sort.

The miscarriage of the dispatches has been very unfortunate, and your not having received supplies would have been fatal, but for the step you very prudently took of withdrawing from the town of Boston, which, under the circumstances you have stated, is a measure very much approved by the King.

King, and in the execution of which, you have given the fullest proof of his Majesty's wisdom and discernment, in the choice of so able and brave an officer to command his troops in America.

You will see by my dispatch to you of the 18th of November*, 6th and 27th of December†, 5th of January‡, 1st and 7th of February§, 28th of March||, and 27th of April**, that every possible effort has been used to give you such a force, and to send you such supplies as would enable you to act with effect in the course of this summer, and at the same time to secure the possession of Canada, and reduce the southern colonies to obedience.

With respect to that part of the force destined to those different objects, which is to reinforce the army under your immediate command, you will see, that the armament sent to the southward has orders to join you as early as possible, and to hazard nothing that may defeat that junction; you will also see, that the Highland corps, amounting to near 3500 men, are sailed from the Clyde within these few days; that the greatest part of the first division of Hessians, amounting to 8200 men, is actually arrived at Spithead, and will probably sail to-morrow or next day, in company with a detachment of the guards, amounting to 1098 men, and there is great hope, that it will not be long before the remainder of the Hessians, computed at about 4000, will be ready to proceed.

The transports for the reception of General Burgoyne's regiment of light cavalry, and for about 800 draught horses, are also fitting in the river; and those articles of military stores demanded in the returns transmitted with the different letters I have received from you, have been either already sent, or are now preparing to be sent, as far as we are able to procure them.

With regard to that part of the force which is destined for the service in Canada, consisting, exclusive of the early relief sent out with the 11th, of seven regiments from Ireland, one from England, and a body of near 5000 foreign troops; those regiments sailed from Cork the 8th of April, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Frazer; and the 1st division of Brunswickers, amounting to about 2000 men, together

* By the Triton.

† By the Milford frigate.

‡ By the Greyhound.

§ Ditto.

|| By a packet express from Boston.

** By another packet.

gether with the Hanau regiment, and the 21st regiment from Plymouth, also failed under the command of Lieutenant General Burgoyne, on the 7th of April; and from the time at which they failed, and the fair wind they have had since, there is good reason to hope they are by this time in the river St. Lawrence; and you will, I trust, have been early enough apprized of this arrangement, to have prevented you in your design of sending any part of your force to Quebec, for it is of great consequence, in every light, that it should be kept intire.

Under these circumstances of preparation, the King had entertained a well grounded hope, that an early and effectual impression would have been made, either in New England or New York, and that the supplies which had been sent out would have arrived in time to have enabled you to have maintained yourself at Boston, until a force was collected adequate to some decisive blow. The failure of these supplies is a very unfortunate event: but, though in your situation at Halifax, you will for a time be further removed from those places, where the force you will have under your command must ultimately be employed, yet, as I see you have taken the proper measures, in leaving cruizers off the coast of New England, that the ships which may arrive from England may still join you with security, you will soon, I trust, have it in your power to carry on operations to the southward.

This change in your situation appearing by your letters to have been adopted for the temporary purpose of convenience, and the better to enable you to disengage yourself of the embarrassment that might obstruct a more decided operation, will, therefore, induce no alteration of the plan for sending the Hessians and guards to Rhode Island, according to my instructions to Lieutenant General Heister, and they will of course take post there, if practicable, if they find no orders from you to the contrary.

As they cannot, however, be supplied from hence with a sufficient quantity of artillery and intrenching tools, you will endeavour to send them what you think adequate to that service.

The Hessians have their regimental field pieces; some light three pounders are on board an ordnance store ship that sails with them, and the number of cartridges, which I understood is about thirty rounds per man, will be made up to sixty, out of the stores at Portsmouth: but they must depend upon you for intrenching tools, though every effort will be made

made to collect what can be procured at Portsmouth and the Tower, and to put on board the transports as much as they can receive.

By the intelligence we receive from time to time, of what is passing at New York, it seems as if the rebels had determined to oppose a landing at that place, and for that purpose to collect a large force there; but of this, it is most likely, you will receive certain and better accounts than we can get; I send you, however, the latest intelligence we have from that quarter, because it points out the particulars of the defence the enemy are preparing to make, and it may, in that respect, be of some use to you.

The plan you propose for attacking New York as soon as possible, is becoming that spirit and vigour with which you always act: but as such large reinforcements are going to you, I wish they may arrive before the time of carrying it into execution, that your force may be so increased, as to render your success more certain.

I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAIN.

Extract of a Letter from General Howe to Lord George Germain, dated Head Quarters, Staten Island, 6th August 1776.
[Received 28th September.]

JUDGING your Lordship will be anxious for information, and having two packets on this side, I dispatch the Sandwich, without waiting for further tidings of Commodore Hotham and the part of his fleet not yet arrived, but which, from late reports, may with reason be hourly expected.

The troops that have arrived to this day are expressed in my returns to the secretary at war and adjutant general, whereby your Lordship will observe, that we are in force sufficient to enter upon offensive operations; but I am detained by the want of camp equipage, particularly kettles and cantines, so essential in the field, and without which too much is to be apprehended on the score of health, at a time when sickness among the British troops was never more to be dreaded, from a due consideration of their importance, in the prosecution of this distant war, and esteeming the army present as the stock upon which the national force in America must in future be grafted; however, if the camp equipage should not arrive with Commodore Hotham, we must use
every

every means to provide against those wants, and the army will immediately begin to act.

Your Lordship's dispatches of the 3d, 12th, and 13th May, with the duplicates of others, since the 22d October 1775, were received by the Sandwich packet, on the 27th, and by Lord Hyde, on the 29th July. His Majesty's most gracious approbation of my withdrawing the troops from Boston, under the circumstances, as described in my dispatch of 21st of March, and the flattering terms wherein it was conveyed by your Lordship, does me the highest honour.

Having communicated my reasons in a former letter, for ordering the guards and Hessians to this port, previous to any attempt upon Rhode Island, I am since confirmed in the propriety of such a measure, by finding, as I expected, the principal force of the rebels assembled at New York, from whence to dislodge them, it will require our collected strength before any other operation can take place. In this I shall now be most essentially assisted by Lieutenant General Clinton and Lord Cornwallis, who arrived here from South Carolina, on the 1st instant. The southern transactions have been sent to your Lordship by General Clinton, and duplicates of his letters going by this opportunity, I need not touch upon that subject.

The Phoenix of 40 guns, and the Rose of 20, passed the enemies batteries up the north river, on the 12th of July, in mid day. We have not received any direct intelligence from them since they went upon this service; but by private means I learn, they did not suffer the least damage from the enemies batteries, and that they were in safety, at the upper end of the Japan sea, a few days past.

The commander in chief of the rebel armies sent me the enclosed letter and narrative of some past transactions in Canada, which I thought proper to answer in general terms, directing to "George Washington, Esquire, &c. &c." as the most unexceptionable mode of address. The officer sent to meet the flag would not receive my letter, as it did not express his general titles; in consequence of which, I sent Lieutenant Colonel Paterfon, adjutant general, a few days afterwards, to remonstrate upon this, and other circumstances, relative to the usage of General Prescott, and several officers in the enemy's possession, and to mention an exchange of prisoners. This interview was more polite than interesting; however, it induced me to change my superscription for the attainment of an end so desirable, and in this view, I flatter myself it will not be disapproved. The letters, though unimportant, are all inclosed for your Lordship's satisfaction.

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The report concerning the 71st regiment, as mentioned in my last, proves to be true by later accounts, directly from Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, who is a prisoner at Boston, and it is confirmed, that Major Menzies was killed in the action. This unfortunate accident makes a considerable addition to their number of prisoners, and increases my anxiety for their relief, for which end, I shall use every means in my power, to improve and avail myself of this agreement for the exchange of prisoners.

Major Rogers having escaped to us from Philadelphia, is empowered to raise a battalion of rangers, which, I hope, may be useful in the course of the campaign.

It is with much satisfaction I am to inform your Lordship, that the troops which came with me, and those since arrived, are in perfect good health.

Extract of a Letter from Lord George Germain to General Howe, dated Whitehall, June 11, 1776.

[Received 12th August.]

YOUR letters of the 25th of April, 7th and 12th of May, together with the inclosures, have been received, and I have had the honour of laying them before his Majesty.

It would have been very fortunate, if the dispatches, to which you allude, and which have been so long on their passage, had reached you in due time, and it gave a real satisfaction to learn, that you had at last received them.

Your attention to the service, in sending the 47th regiment to Quebec, is highly commendable: but I trust the forces sent from Europe, for the relief of that place, and the reduction of the neighbouring country to their obedience, will fully answer those purposes; you will desire General Carleton to return you that regiment, unless he shall find that the situation of affairs in that quarter makes it necessary for him to keep it.

Give me leave to express my satisfaction on the safe arrival of yourself, and the fleet, at Halifax. The capture of the brig was an unfortunate circumstance; but I hope that the loss of the shoes and woollen articles, which were on board, have, ere this, been repaired by means of the stores that were forwarded in the ships that have been sent from hence.

His Majesty has been pleased to approve of your appointment of Lieutenant Colonel Paterfon, of the 63d regiment, to be your adjutant-general, and I shall certainly pay due attention to your recommendation of Major Kemble.

I cannot help expressing my concern, that so many of his Majesty's faithful subjects in America should be so much distressed for the want of provisions, that it is necessary for you to supply them from the King's stores; and it is impossible for me to say more, upon so delicate a business, than that you must be guided by your own feelings and humanity, which, I am persuaded, will always direct you right.

In answer to the last paragraph of your letter, April 25th, it will be sufficient for me to observe, that your brother, Lord Howe's arrival in America, must have afforded you the most pleasing, as well as most convincing proofs, of the great estimation in which his Majesty holds you, and of the opinion he so justly entertains of your ability and inclination to render him the most essential services.

His Majesty always acts upon such fixed and unalterable principles of justice, that he will never withdraw his royal favour and confidence from any of his servants, without reason; and absence, which has frequently proved fatal to the fortunes of even the most meritorious men, will in these days, I am positive, be detrimental to none, as the King seems to make the interests of those, who are abroad in his service, the more peculiar, and more immediate objects of his care.

The whole of Brigadier General Robertson's behaviour is deserving of great commendations. And his Majesty approves of your having appointed him to act as major general, and consents, that he should continue to serve in America in that capacity this campaign.

It is not necessary for me to enter into the particulars contained in your letter of May 7; but as I feel myself perfectly satisfied with what you have already done, and purpose to do, it would be ungenerous in me not to endeavour, in my turn, to contribute to your happiness, by assuring you, that your actions and intentions are honoured with the entire approbation of your sovereign.

P. S. When I was closing my letter, I received the very agreeable intelligence from Quebec, which you will see in the inclosed Gazette Extraordinary. I most heartily congratulate you upon an event that must greatly facilitate all our operations, and opens a prospect of putting an end to the rebellion in one campaign.

Copy

*Copy of a Letter from General Howe to Lord George Germaine,
dated Staten Island, 15th August 1776.
[Received 10th October 1776.]*

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's dispatches on the 11th and 12th of June, by the Halifax packet arriving here the 11th instant.

On the 12th the two fleets, under convoy of Commodore Hotham, and the *Repulse*, met off this harbour, and came in together; the guards and Hessians on board are reported to be very healthy. The camp equipage is also come, and no time will be lost in proceeding upon the operations of the campaign.

Lord Dunmore and Lord William Campbell arrived yesterday from the southward, with Sir Peter Parker; being anxious to send off this packet, I defer being more particular until the next departure. I have the honour to be, &c.

WILL. HOWE.

*Copy of a Letter from General Howe to Lord George Germaine,
dated Head Quarters, Staten Island, 16th August 1776.
[Received 10th October.]*

MY LORD,

THE provincial corps already raised, and the new levies, which may probably be made, in the progress of this American war, must necessarily occasion a great additional expence; and their various establishments will of course require a very exact arrangement, for settling accounts of subsistence and contingencies, in such manner as to leave least room for imposition or confusion; I should, therefore, humbly propose to separate them from all other extraordinaries, by appointing a pay-master general to keep them distinct; and in this idea, I have given to Captain Robert Mackenzie, my present secretary, a commission to act as pay-master general, with the same appointment as the deputy pay-masters general have, who act under Mr. Rigby, in America. I have also appointed a muster master, to certify the pay bills from one muster to another.

Captain Mackenzie has served his Majesty twenty-one years, is fully qualified to discharge the duties required; and

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I beg

I beg your Lordship will do me the honour to communicate his Majesty's pleasure upon the appointment.

I have the honour to be, &c.

WM. HOWE.

Copy of a Letter from General Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated Head Quarters, Long Island, 2d September 1776.

[Received 10th October.]

MY LORD,

AS there may probably be another campaign before this rebellion is quelled, I would humbly propose an augmentation of 800 men to Colonel Donop's chasseurs, to be sent from Germany, in the spring. A corps of these troops, consisting of 1000, would be of infinite service in covering the march of the army, and would prevent much loss and fatigue to the main body, particularly in the present low state of our establishment; and if one hundred dismounted hussars were sent over from Hesse, with proper accoutrements, to be added to this corps, horses might be procured here, and they would prove very serviceable in all our movements.

I am, &c.

WM. HOWE.

Copy of a Letter from General Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated Camp at Newtown, Long Island, 3d Sept. 1776.

[Received 28th September 1776.]

MY LORD,

ON the 22d of last month, in the morning, the British, with Colonel Donop's corps of chasseurs and Hessian grenadiers, disembarked near Utrecht on Long Island without opposition, the whole being landed, with forty pieces of cannon, in two hours and a half, under the direction of Commodore Hotham, Lieutenant-general Clinton commanding the first division of the troops.

The enemy had only small parties on the coast, who, upon the approach of the boats, retired to the woody heights, commanding a principal pass on the road from Flat-bush to their works at Brooklyn. Lord Cornwallis was immediately detached to Flat-bush with the reserve, two battalions of light infantry, and Colonel Donop's corps, with six field-pieces, having orders not to risque an attack upon the pass,

pass, if he should find it occupied; which proving to be the case, his Lordship took post in the village, and the army extended from the Ferry at the Narrows, through Utrecht and Gravesend, to the village of Flat-land.

On the 25th, Lieutenant General de Heister, with two brigades of Hessians from Staten-Island, joined the army, leaving one brigade of his troops, a detachment of the 14th regiment from Virginia, some convalescents and recruits, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Dahymple, for the security of that island.

On the 26th, Lieutenant General de Heister took post at Flat-bush, and in the evening, Lord Cornwallis with the British drew off to Flat-land. About nine o'clock the same night, the van of the army, commanded by Lieut. Gen. Clinton, consisting of the light dragoons and brigade of light infantry, the reserve, under the command of Lord Cornwallis, excepting the 42d regiment, which was posted to the left of the Hessians, the first brigade, and the 71st regiment, with fourteen field-pieces, began to move from Flat-land, across the country through the New Lots, to seize a pass in the Heights, extending from east to west, along the middle of the island, and about three miles from Bedford, on the road to Jamaica, in order to turn the enemy's left, posted at Flat-bush.

Aug. 27th. General Clinton being arrived within half a mile of the pass, about two hours before day-break, halted, and settled his disposition for the attack; one of his patrols, falling in with a patrol of the enemy's officers, took them; and the general learning from their information that the rebels had not occupied the pass, detached a battalion of light infantry to secure it, and advancing with his corps upon the first appearance of day, possessed himself of the Heights, with such a disposition as must have ensured success, had he found the enemy in force to oppose him.

The main body of the army, consisting of the guards, 2d, 3d, and 5th brigades, with ten field-pieces, led by Lord Percy, marched soon after General Clinton, and halted an hour before day in his rear. This column (the country not admitting of two columns of march) was followed by the 49th regiment, with four medium twelve pounders, and the baggage closed the rear with separate guards.

As soon as these corps had passed the heights, they halted for the soldiers to take a little refreshment, after which the

march was continued, and about half an hour past eight o'clock, having got to Bedford, in the rear of the enemy's left, the attack was commenced by the light infantry and light dragoons upon large bodies of the rebels, having cannon, who were quitting the woody heights before-mentioned to return to their lines, upon discovering the march of the army; instead of which they were drove back, and the army still moving on to gain the enemy's rear, the grenadiers and 33d regiment being in front of the column, soon approached within musket-shot of the enemy's lines at Brooklyn, from whence these battalions, without regarding the fire of cannon and small arms upon them, pursued numbers of the rebels that were retiring from the Heights so close to their principal redoubt; and with such eagerness to attack it by storm, that it required repeated orders to prevail upon them to desist from the attempt. Had they been permitted to go on, it is my opinion they would have carried the redoubt; but as it was apparent the lines must have been ours at a very cheap rate, by regular approaches, I would not risk the loss that might have been sustained in the assault, and ordered them back to a hollow way, in the front of the works, out of the reach of musquetry.

Lieutenant General de Heister began soon after day-break to cannonade the enemy in the front, and upon the approach of our right, ordered Colonel Donop's corps to advance to the attack of the hill, following himself at the head of the brigades. The light infantry about that time having been reinforced by the light company, the grenadier company, and two other companies of the guards, who joined them with the greatest activity and spirit, had taken three pieces of cannon, and were warily engaged with very superior numbers in the woods, when on the Hessians advancing, the enemy gave way, and was entirely routed in that quarter.

On the left, Major General Grant having the fourth and sixth brigades, the 42d regiment, and two companies of New York provincials, raised by Governor Tryon in the spring, advanced along the coast with ten pieces of cannon, to divert the enemy's attention from the left. About midnight he fell in with their advanced parties, and at day-break with a large corps, having cannon, and advantageously posted, with whom there was skirmishing and a cannonade for some hours, until by the firing at Brooklyn, the rebels suspecting their retreat would be cut off, made a movement to the right, in order to secure it across a swamp and creek,
that

that covered the right of their works ; but being met in their way by part of the 2d grenadiers, who were soon after supported by the 71st regiment, and General Grant's left coming up, they suffered considerably: numbers of them, however, did get into the morass, where many were suffocated or drowned.

The force of the enemy detached from the lines where General Putnam commanded, was not less, from the best accounts I have had, than 10,000 men, who were under the orders of Major General Sullivan, Brigadier Generals Lord Stirling and Udell. Their loss is computed to be about 3,300 killed, wounded, prisoners, and drowned ; with five field-pieces and one howitzer taken. A return of the prisoners is inclosed.

On the part of the King's troops, five officers, and fifty-six non-commissioned officers, and rank and file killed ; twelve officers, and 245 non-commissioned officers, and rank and file wounded ; one officer and twenty grenadiers of the marines taken, by mistaking the enemy for the Hessians.

The Hessians had two privates killed, three officers, and twenty-three rank and file wounded. The wounds are in general very slight. Lieutenant Colonel Monckton is shot through the body, but there are the greatest hopes of his recovery.

The behaviour of both officers and soldiers, British and Hessians, was highly to their honour. More determined courage and steadiness in troops have never been experienced, or a greater ardour to distinguish themselves, as all those who had an opportunity have amply evinced by their actions.

In the evening of the 27th, the army encamped in front of the enemy's works. On the 28th at night, broke ground 600 yards distant from a redoubt upon their left, and on the 29th at night, the rebels evacuated their entrenchments, and Redhook, with the utmost silence, and quitted Governor's Island the following evening, leaving their cannon and a quantity of stores in all their works. At day-break on the 30th, their flight was discovered, the picquets of the line took possession, and those most advanced reached the shore opposite to New York, as their rear guard was going over, and fired some shot among them.

The enemy is still in possession of the town and island of New York, in force, and making demonstration of opposing us in their works on both sides of King's Bridge.

The inhabitants of this island, many of whom had been forced into rebellion, have all submitted, and are ready to take the oaths of allegiance.

This dispatch will be delivered to your Lordship by Major Cuyler, my first aid-de-camp, who I trust will be able to give your Lordship such further information as may be required.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. HOWE.

P. S. I have omitted to take notice in its proper place, of a movement made by the King's ships, towards the town, on the 27th at day-break, with a view of drawing off the attention of the enemy from our real design, which, I believe, effectually answered the intended purpose.

Copy of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated Head Quarters, York Island, 21st September 1776.

[Received 2d November.]

MY LORD,

I HAVE the satisfaction to inform your Lordship of his Majesty's troops being in possession of the city of New York.

Upon the rebels abandoning their lines at Brooklyn, the King's army moved from Bedford, leaving Lieutenant General Heister encamped upon the heights of Brooklyn with two brigades of Hessians, and one brigade of British at Bedford, and took five positions in the neighbourhood of Newtown, Bushwick, Hell-gate, and Flushing.

The two islands of Montrefor and Buchanan were occupied, and batteries raised against the enemy's work at Horens hook, commanding the passage at Hell-gate.

On the 15th instant in the morning, three ships of war passed up the north river as far as Bloomingdale, to draw the enemy's attention to that side; and the first division of troops, consisting of the light infantry, the British reserve, the Hessian grenadiers and chateurs, under the command of Lieutenant General Clinton, having with him Lieutenant General Earl Cornwallis, Major General Vaughan, Brigadier General Leslie, and Col. Donop, embarked at the head of New-town creek, and landed about noon upon New York island, three miles from the town, at a place called Kepp's bay under the fire of two 40 gun ships and three frigates, as per margin*,

Com-

* *Phœnix*, *Roeback*, *Orpheus*, *Carysfort*, *Rose*.

Commodore Hotham having the direction of the ships and boats.

The rebels had troops in their works round Kepp's-bay ; but their attention being engaged in expectation of the King's troops landing at Stuyvesant's-cove, Horen's-hook, and at Harlem, which they had reason to conclude, Kepp's-bay became only a secondary object of their care. The fire of the shipping being so well directed, and so incessant, the enemy could not remain in their works, and the descent was made without the least opposition.

The conduct of the officers of the navy does them much honour ; and the behaviour of the seamen belonging to the ships of war and transports, employed to row the boats, was highly meritorious. Much praise in particular is due to the masters and men of six transports, that passed the town on the evening of the 14th, under a heavy fire, being volunteers, to take troops on board for the more speedy disembarkation of the second division.

The British immediately took post upon the commanding height of Inclenberg, and the Hessians, moving towards New York, fell in with a body of rebels that were retiring from Stuyvesant's-cove ; some firing ensued, by which a brigadier general, other officers, and several of the rebels were killed and wounded, with the loss of four men killed, and eight wounded on the part of the Hessians.

As soon as the second embarkation was landed, the troops advanced towards a corps of the enemy upon a rising ground three miles from Inclenberg, towards King's-bridge, having M'Gowan's pass in the rear, upon which they immediately retired to the main body of the army upon Morris's height.

The enemy having evacuated New York soon after the army landed, a brigade took possession of the works in the evening.

The prisoners made in the course of this day were about 20 officers and 300 men. The inclosed return will shew the artillery and stores taken.

The position the king's army took, on the 15th in the evening, was with the right to Horen's-hook, and the left at the North River near to Bloomingdale ; the rebel army occupying the ground with extensive works on both sides of King's-bridge, and a redoubt with cannon upon a height on the west side of the North River, opposite to the Blue Bell, where the enemy have their principal work ; in which positions both armies still continue.

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On the 16th in the morning a large party of the enemy having passed, under cover of the woods, near to the advanced posts of the army by way of Vanderwater's height, the 2d and 3d battalions of light infantry, supported by the 42d regiment, pushed forward, and drove them back to their entrenchments, from whence the enemy observing they were not in force, attacked them with near 3000 men, which occasioned the march of the reserve with two field-pieces, a battalion of Hessian grenadiers, and the company of chasseurs, to prevent the corps engaged from being surrounded; but the light infantry and 42d regiment, with the assistance of the chasseurs and field-pieces, repulsed the enemy with considerable loss, and obliged them to retire within their works. The enemy's loss is not ascertained; but from the accounts of deserters it is agreed, that they had not less than 300 killed and wounded, and among them a colonel and major killed. We had eight officers wounded, most of them very slightly, fourteen men killed, and about seventy wounded.

Major-general Vaughan was slightly wounded in the thigh on the 15th by a random shot, as he was ascending the heights of Inclesberg, with the grenadiers; and I have the pleasure of informing your lordship that lieutenant-colonel Monckton is so well recovered, he has been walking about some days.

Captain Balfour, my second aid-de-camp, will have the honour of delivering your lordship this dispatch; and, with the most profound respect, I have the honour to be, &c.

W. HOWE.

Copy of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated York-Island, 23d Sept. 1776.

[Received 2d November.]

MY LORD,

BETWEEN the 20th and 21st inst. at midnight, a most horrid attempt was made by a number of wretches to burn the town of New-York, in which they succeeded too well, having set it on fire in several places, with matches and combustibles that had been prepared with great art and ingenuity. Many were detected in the fact, and some killed upon the spot by the enraged troops in garrison; and had it not been for the exertions of Major-general Robertson, the officers under his command in the town, and the brigade of guards detached from the camp,

camp, the whole must infallibly have been consumed, as the night was extremely windy.

The destruction is computed to be about one quarter of the town; and we have reason to suspect there are villains still lurking there, ready to finish the work they had begun; one person, escaping the pursuit of a centinel the following night, having declared, that he would again set fire to the town the first opportunity. The strictest search is making after these incendiaries, and the most effectual measures taken to guard against the perpetration of their villainous and wicked deligns. I have the honour to be, &c.

W. Howe.

Copy of a Letter from Sir William Howe, to Lord George Germaine, dated Head-Quarters, York-Island, 24th September 1776.

[Received 2d November.]

MY LORD,

AFTER waiting two days for a favourable wind to move the ships of war up to the batteries upon Paulus-hook, it was effected yesterday at noon, and the troops landed and took possession of the works without the least resistance, the enemy having abandoned their batteries and redoubts upon the approach of his Majesty's ship *Rocbuck* and two frigates. I have the honour to be, &c.

W. Howe.

Copy of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated New-York Island, 25th Sept. 1776.

[Received 2d November.]

MY LORD,

UPON the present appearance of things, I look upon the further progress of this army for the campaign, to be rather precarious; an attack upon Rhode Island excepted, which I would willingly defer for a short time, in case it should be thought advisable to employ our whole force together: the duration of the campaign must be short, and the second division of Hessians not arrived; nor have I any dependence upon General Carleton's approach, to act with influence this year, upon the main rebel army, opposed to us, though it is reported to-day by the deserters, that General Burgoyne, with a large corps of troops and Indians, is advancing fast to Albany, by way of the Mohawk river. If he gets possession of Albany, it will, no doubt, facilitate General Carleton's movement to that place, and will be attended with favourable consequences. But in my situation, I presume, I must not risk,

risk, as a check at this time would be of infinite detriment to us.

The enemy is too strongly posted to be attacked in front, and innumerable difficulties are in my way of turning him on either side, though his army is much dispirited, from the late success of his Majesty's arms; yet have I not the smallest prospect of finishing the contest this campaign, not until the rebels see preparations in the spring, that may preclude all thoughts of further resistance. To this end, I would propose eight or ten line of battle ships to be with us in February, with a number of supernumerary seamen for manning boats, having fully experienced the want of them, in every movement we have made: we must also have recruits from Europe, not finding the Americans disposed to serve with arms, notwithstanding the hopes held out to me upon my arrival at this port.

Finding the Hessians averse to having their accompts methodized, in the manner observed by the British regiments, I have given them money on account, taking care that the sums advanced are sufficiently within the whole pay due to them by treaty, to answer for their stoppages of provisions.

An exchange of prisoners has taken place, and Major General Prescott, in consequence of it, is with me, being exchanged for Major General Sullivan, of the rebel army. Governor Mountfort Brown is to be returned for Lord Sterling, and Governor Skene for an inhabitant of Boston, taken into custody by General Gage.

I am, my Lord, &c.

W. HOWE.

*Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germaine to General Howe,
dated Whitehall, 21st June 1776.*

[Received 23^d October.]

SIR,

SINCE my letter to you of the 11th instant, acknowledging the receipt of your dispatches of the 7th and 12th of May, by the Herriott Packet, I have received no letter from you; but we are happily relieved from our anxiety, lest the troops should suffer from the want of provisions, by the accounts received by private persons of a later date, which mention the arrival of the transports from Antigua, and of the Greyhound, with five victuallers from Corke, and that you had given orders for every thing to be in readiness to leave Halifax on the 28th.

What adds greatly to the satisfaction of these accounts, is
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the intelligence we have received, that the transports, with the Highland troops, were within a week's sail of Boston, on the 21st; and Commodore Hotham, who has the first division of the Hessian forces under his convoy, acquaints the admiralty, in a letter dated the 5th of June, that he had then made half his passage to Rhode Island. We have little doubt, therefore, that the Highlanders will have joined you, before you can have arrived at New-York, and so seasonable a reinforcement must have given fresh spirits and confidence to the troops, and greatly facilitated your taking possession of that place.

The second division of the Hessians are now at Spithead, and every thing is in readiness for their proceeding to New-York, under convoy of four of his Majesty's ships.

The 16th regiment of light dragoons, and the remount horses for the 17th, together with the draught horses for the baggage and artillery, and 402 German recruits, go with them, and such part of a body of 500 British recruits, which is collected at Chatham and Dover, as can get round in time, have orders to join them.

In my letter of the 11th instant, I acquainted you, that General Carleton would have orders to send back the 47th regiment, which you had spared him for the relief of Quebec, or to replace it with some other from the army under his command; but upon further consideration, it is thought more expedient to allow the regiments, which are already in Canada, to remain there, and to replace the 47th from hence, by sending you the Prince of Waldeck's regiment, which was intended to have gone with the second division of the Brunswick troops to Quebec, and that regiment is accordingly ordered to sail with the Hessians, and General Carleton is informed of this arrangement, and directed to consider the former orders, as recalled in consequence of it.

Inclosed you will receive the embarkation-returns of the Hessians and Waldeck regiment, and also of the 402 German recruits; and I have the pleasure to add, that the several corps are in excellent condition, very well appointed, and express the greatest willingness for the service.

As we are to hope you have now got footing in New-York, and that you will be able to draw some part of the supplies for your army from that province, the continuance of so large a number of transports, as these embarkations will furnish you with, cannot be necessary; and as the expence is very great, it is highly proper, that so many of them

as can be spared, should be discharged as soon as possible; and as the direction of the transport service is in the commander in chief of his Majesty's ships, you will acquaint him, from time to time, with the number which you find necessary, in order that no more may be continued in pay than the exigencies of the service require.

On all accounts, the foreign ships ought to be first discharged; and as there is good ground to suspect, from the conduct of the masters, that they have stores of different kinds concealed on board, it will be very proper that their holds be carefully examined, so soon as the troops and horses are disembarked, and that when they are discharged, the admiral should order them to be seen a good distance from the coast, by some of his Majesty's ships, and to acquaint them, that if they are afterwards met with nearer shore, they will be made prize of.

I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAINE.

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germaine to General Howe, dated Whitehall, 22d August 1776.

[Received 23d October.]

SIR,

IN answer to the favour of your letter of the 3d of June, relative to the embarrassment and confusion which had been occasioned in the army, by vacancies having been filled up here, and also by you; I am to inform you, that the secretary at war having taken his Majesty's pleasure thereupon, and written to you fully on that head, I flatter myself all those difficulties are removed, and that for the future, you will have none of the like nature to complain of.

I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAINE.

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germaine to General Howe, dated Whitehall, 22d August 1776.

[Received 23d October.]

SIR,

I HAVE the favour of your letter of the 4th of June last, with two inclosures; the one a state of the goods removed from Boston, and the other, a plan on which the corps of loyal Nova Scotia volunteers was then formed; and as your plan holds forth encouragement to those who have success in recruiting, I trust the officers, by their activity and attention, may be able soon to complete the corps.

I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAINE.

Copy

*Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germaine to General Howe,
dated Whitehall, 22d August 1776.*

[Received 23d October.]

SIR,

YOUR letters of July 7th and 8th, from Staten Island, were delivered to me by Lieutenant Colonel Blunt, of the 4th regiment, and I had the honour of laying them before the King.

His Majesty entirely approves of your prudence in waiting for the arrival of one of the expected reinforcements: nor is this your discretion the sole object of his royal approbation, it has been graciously extended to the whole of your conduct and plan; in both of which you have exhibited such wisdom, zeal, and attention to the service, as deservedly reflects the highest honour upon you, and must contribute most effectually to the support and advancement of the honour of government.

As his Majesty had reason to imagine that Vice Admiral Lord Shulldham had stationed a proper number of ships off the harbour of Boston, in order to thwart all designs which the rebels might have of seizing any of the succours which might be sent to you, he has been much hurt and surprized to find that so many of the Highland corps have had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the enemy: And I am to inform you, that orders will be sent to Lord Howe to make inquiries into the matter.

His Majesty expressed great satisfaction at the account which you give of the coming in of so many of his subjects. Such a step, whilst it proves that they are impressed with a grateful sense of their situation, in obeying the mildest and best of kings, will, it is to be hoped, when they find themselves sure of receiving protection, induce others to give similar proofs of their loyalty and zeal for government.

I have sent to the lords commissioners of his Majesty's treasury the particulars of your request, respecting an early supply of woollens, linen, and shoes, for the provincial troops; and have no doubt but a due and speedy attention will be paid to it.

The behaviour of Captains Reynor and Curtis in their respective commands, has given the King great satisfaction.

I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAINE.

Copy

*Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germaine to General Howe,
dated Whitehall, 22d August 1776.*

[Received 23d October.]

SIR,

I HAD the honour of receiving and laying before his Majesty your letter dated Halifax, 7th June 1776, wherein you acknowledge the receipt of my dispatches of the 1st and 7th February, and 28th March.

Sensible as you were that the interests of your King and country required your presence in the neighbourhood of New York, I am not at all surprized at the lively mortification which you suffered on account of your tedious detention at Halifax, and in being so long prevented from executing those plans which your zeal and wisdom had projected; and to which the high order of the troops was likely to ensure success. It must at that time have been some alleviation of your uneasiness, to know that the delay was not occasioned by any neglect; and it will afford you no small degree of present satisfaction, to be informed that the King, having read and considered the reasons which you assign for your detention at Halifax, is of opinion that an earlier removal from there was impracticable. His Majesty was also pleased to express his entire approbation of your idea respecting the intended motions and employment of the army.

I herewith transmit you a copy of a dispatch sent to General Sir Guy Carleton, which I think makes it unnecessary for me to enter into a discussion of that part of your letter which relates to the difficulties that might arise upon a junction of your respective armies. A duplicate of this dispatch is sent herewith, which, for fear any accident should happen to the original, you will transmit to Sir Guy Carleton, by the first opportunity. And as Lord Howe has the command of the fleet, and there happily subsists the most perfect harmony between you, I flatter myself that there is no occasion for me to say any thing about the disposal of the transports.

With regard to the 47th regiment, I must beg leave to refer you to my former letter of the 21st of June.

The loss of the ordnance store ship in Boston Bay, is an unlucky and very mortifying circumstance; and I am to acquaint you, that orders are given for a strict inquiry to be made into that affair.

I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAINE.

Extract of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated 28th November 1776.

[Received 30th December.]

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's dispatches, of 11th, 12th, and 21st June, four different letters of 22d August, enclosing one to Sir Guy Carleton of the same date, and his Majesty's warrant of 22d June, respecting appointments to vacancies in this army; I received them by the Perseus and Diamond on the 22d and 23d of October.

Truly sensible of the honour which the King's approbation reflects upon my past conduct, I humbly beg your Lordship may express to his Majesty, the fullness of my gratitude for so flattering a mark of royal condescension, with the strongest assurances that I shall invariably continue to exert my utmost abilities in the execution of his Majesty's commands, and for the interests of the service with which I am entrusted.

Give me leave, at the same time, to return my unfeigned thanks for your Lordship's extreme politeness, in communicating this most acceptable testimony of his Majesty's pleasure.

I am, &c.

W. HOWE.

Copy of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated New York, 30th November 1776.

[Received 29th December.]

MY LORD,

THE service in which I have been employed since the departure of Captain Balfour, with advice of the reduction of New York, would not allow of an earlier time to send an account to your Lordship of the progress made from that period.

The very strong positions the enemy had taken on this island, and fortified with incredible labour, determined me to get upon their principal communication with Connecticut, with a view of forcing them to quit the strong holds in the neighbourhood of King's Bridge, and, if possible, to bring them to action.

All previous arrangements being made, the army embarked on the 12th of October in flat boats and other craft, and pressing through the dangerous navigation of Hell-gate, in a very thick fog, landed on Frog's Neck, near the town of West Chester, about nine in the morning, the Carysfort frigate being placed to cover the descent. The presence of Lord Howe,

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the activity of Commodore Hotham, most of the captains of the fleet, and of the navy officers in general, were infinitely conducive to the King's service in this difficult movement; only one artillery boat was overfet, having three six-pounders on board, which were lost, and three men drowned.

Lieutenant-General Earl Percy remained with two brigades of British, and one of the Hessians, in the lines near Haerlem, to cover New York.

The army remained in this situation until the stores and provisions could be brought up, and three battalions of Hessians drawn from Staten Island, which, together with some bad weather intervening, occasioned a delay of five days.

On the 18th several corps reembarked in flat boats, and passing round Frog's Neck, landed on Pell's Point at the mouth of Hutchinson's River; after which the main body crossed the mouth of that river to the same place, advanced immediately, and laid that night upon their arms, with the left upon a creek opposite to East Chester, and the right near to Rochelle.

On the march to this ground, a skirmish ensued with a small party of the enemy posted to defend a narrow causeway, who were pursued for a mile, when a considerable body appearing in front behind stone walls and in woods, some companies of light infantry, and a part of the chasseurs, were detached to dislodge them, which they did effectually; Lieutenant Colonel Musgrave commanding the first battalion of light infantry, and Capt. Evelyn of the 4th regiment, were both wounded; the latter is since dead, and much to be regretted as a gallant officer, but Lieut. Colonel Musgrave is in a fair way of recovery; three soldiers were killed and twenty wounded.

The enemy's loss upon this occasion was a Lieut. Colonel killed, a Major wounded, and about ninety men killed and wounded.

The part of the 16th light dragoons, that arrived with Lieut. Colonel Harcourt on the 3d inst. (one transport being still missing), and the whole of the 17th light dragoons, joined the army on the 20th.

On the 21st, the right and centre of the army moved to a position about two miles to the northward of Rochelle, on the road to the White Plains, leaving Lieutenant General Heister, with two brigades of Hessians and one of British, to occupy the former ground. Lieutenant Colonel Rogers, with his corps of rangers, was detached to take possession of Mamaroneck, where the carelessness of his centries exposed him to a surprise from a large body of the enemy, by which he lost a few

few men killed or taken ; nevertheless, by a spirited exertion, he obliged them to retreat, leaving behind them some prisoners, and several killed and wounded.

The 6th brigade, commanded by Brigadier Agnew, was moved the 22d, to sustain the post of Mamaroneck. On the same day Lieut. General Knyphausen, with the 2d division of Hessians and regiment of Waldeckers, having arrived the 18th at New York, landed at Rochelle, was ordered to remain there to cover the disembarkation of the stores and provisions.

Upon the movement of the army to Frog's Neck, the enemy detached a corps to White Plains, and quitted their position about King's Bridge with some precipitation, leaving 2000 men for the defence of Fort Washington, extending their force behind the Brunx, from Valentine's Hill to White Plains, in detached camps, every where entrenched ; their left, by this means, covering an upper communication with Connecticut, as well as the road along the North River, it was judged expedient to move to White Plains, and endeavour to bring them to an action.

Lieutenant General Heister, with his corps, having orders to join on the march, the army moved in two columns on the 25th, and took a position with the Brunx in front, the right of the line being at the distance of four miles from the White Plains ; upon which the rebels immediately quitted their detached camps between King's Bridge and White Plains ; assembling their whole force at the latter place, behind entrenchments that had been thrown up by the advanced corps.

The army marched by the right in two columns towards White Plains, early on the 28th, Lieutenant General Heister the left column. Before noon all the enemy's advanced parties were drove back to their works by the light infantry and Chasseurs, and the army formed with the right upon the road from Mamaroneck to the White Plains, about a mile from the centre of their lines ; and the left to the Brunx, near the same distance from the right flank of their entrenchments.

A corps of the enemy was formed on a commanding ground, separated from the right flank of their entrenchments by the Brunx, which also, by changing its course nearly at right angles, separated this corps in front from the left of the King's army.

Colonel Raille, who commanded a brigade of Hessians on the left, observing this position of the enemy, and seeing a height on the other side of the Brunx occupied by them, from whence their flank might be galled, took possession of it with

great alacrity, to the approbation of Lieutenant General Heister, who was acquainted with this movement by Sir William Erskine.

Upon viewing the situation, orders were given for a battalion of Hessians to pass the Brunx, and attack this detached corps, supported by the second brigade of British, under the command of Brigadier General Leslie, and the Hessian grenadiers sent from the right, commanded by Colonel Donop; giving directions, at the same time, for Colonel Raille to charge the enemy's flank as the Hessian battalion advanced to them in front; but there being some difficulty in passing the Brunx, the 28th and 35th regiments, who were the first to support, passed it in a place most practicable, and formed on the opposite side, though under the enemy's fire, with the greatest steadiness, ascended the steep hill in defiance to all opposition, and rushing on the enemy, routed, and drove them back from their works.

These two battalions were closely supported by the 5th and 49th regiments, who shewed the same zeal to distinguish themselves; the Hessian grenadiers also coming up, and passing the Brunx, ascended the height with the greatest alacrity and in the best order.

This material post being gained, the Hessian grenadiers were ordered forward upon the heights within cannon-shot of the entrenchments, the Brunx from its winding course being still between them and the enemy's right flank; the 2d brigade of British formed in the rear of the Hessian grenadiers, and the two brigades of Hessians on the left of the 2d brigade, with their left upon the road leading from Terry Town to White Plains.

The right and centre of the army did not remove from their ground. In this position the troops lay upon their arms that night, and with very little alteration encamped next day.

The officers and men of the British and Hessian artillery deserve much commendation for their active services on this occasion.

The killed, wounded, and prisoners taken from the enemy, during the course of this day, is said to be not less than 250.

The loss of his Majesty's troops and allies was small, as your Lordship will observe by the general return, considering the strength of the ground from whence the enemy was forced; though the loss of Lieutenant Colonel Carr of the 35th regiment, who died the next day of his wounds, is much to be lamented.

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The enemy drew back their encampment on the night of the 28th; and observing their lines next morning much strengthened by additional works, the designed attack upon them was deferred; and the 4th brigade, left with Lord Percy, with two battalions of the 6th brigade, were ordered to join the army.

These battalions having joined on the 30th in the afternoon, a disposition was made for the attack next day; but the night and morning proving very wet, it was postponed; in the mean time, the rebels, having intelligence by a deserter of their danger, most prudently evacuated their camp in the night of the 1st of November, after setting fire to all the houses in and near their lines, most of which were consumed, and retired with their main force towards North Castle, leaving a strong rear guard upon the heights and in the woods, for one mile back from their entrenchments, the possession of which was immediately taken, and the Hessian grenadiers remained upon the ground.

All these motions, plainly indicating the enemy's design to avoid coming to action, I did not think the driving their rear guard further back an object of the least consequence.

Lieutenant-general Knyphausen being ordered on the 28th of October, to leave the regiment of Waldeck at Rochelle, and to move, with the six battalions of Hessians of his corps, towards King's Bridge, took post at Miles Square and Valentine's Hill, and on the 2d of November encamped on the island of New York near to King's Bridge; the enemy quitting the heights of Fordham upon his approach, retired to Fort Washington.

The army was ordered, on the 3d, to provide three days forage: and the next day Major General Grant marched with the 4th brigade to Miles Square and Valentine's Hill, the 6th brigade to a bridge over the Brunx in West Chester, near De Lancey's Mill; and the Waldeck regiment took post at another, three miles above the former, on the same river.

On the 6th, the army encamped at Dobb's Ferry, upon the North River.

When this movement was made the rebels came down from their strong holds, burning what they had not before destroyed at White Plains, and distressing the inhabitants, by small parties, in a most wanton degree.

The park of artillery moved to King's Bridge on the 7th, under a strong escort, with a detachment of Chasseurs, to join Lieutenant General Knyphausen.

Two battalions of light infantry, and the remainder of the chassieurs, with four field pieces, took post next day on the communication to King's Bridge.

On the 10th a brigade of Hessians was sent as a reinforcement to Lieutenant-general Knyphausen.

On the 12th the army marched in two columns towards King's Bridge, and encamped the day following upon the heights of Fordham, forming a line with the right to the Brunx upon the West Chester road, and the left to the North River.

During the continuance of the army at Dobb's Ferry, the enemy sent a large detachment over the North River by King's Ferry to Jersey, and were employed in entrenching at Croton Bridge and White Plains, and building barracks at those places, and at Peck's Hill near the foot of the highlands, for their winter habitations.

Lieutenant-general Knyphausen had for some days established his post on the York side of King's Bridge, within cannon-shot of Fort Washington, which was covered by very strong ground, and exceeding difficult of access; but the importance of this post, which, with Fort Lee on the opposite shore of Jersey, kept the enemy in command of the navigation of the North River, while it barred the communication with York by land, made the possession of it absolutely necessary. Preparations were therefore made for a general attack, and thirty flat boats, under the direction of Captains Wilkison and Molloy, passed up the North River on the night of the 14th, undiscovered by the enemy.

Every thing being prepared, and the attack fixed for the morning of the 16th, Lieutenant Colonel Paterfon, adjutant general, was sent the 15th to summon the commanding officer to surrender, and to warn him of the consequences that must attend a general attack; to which he replied, he would defend himself to the last extremity.

Four attacks were determined upon; the first under the command of Lieutenant-general Knyphausen, against the enemy's left on the side of King's Bridge, in two columns, formed by detachments from the Hessians of his corps, the brigade of Raille and regiment of Waldeck.

The second, by the 1st and 2d battalions of light infantry, and two battalions of guards, under the command of Brigadier-general Matthew, to land by Haerlem Creek upon the enemy's right from thirty flat boats; which attack was to be supported by the 1st and 2d grenadiers and 33d regiment, under

der the command of Lord Cornwallis. The third attack, intended as a feint, by the 42d regiment, to be embarked in batteaus, in a creek opposite to Colonel Morris's house, and upon the left of the enemy's lines towards New York. The 4th by Lord Percy, with the corps under his command, on York Island, to assault the right flank of the enemy's entrenchments on that side.

The field artillery and batteries being properly disposed for the three attacks on the side of King's Bridge and Haerlem Creeks, Lieutenant-general Knyphausen moved forward about noon; but having a very thick wood to pass, in which the enemy was advantageously posted, it was some time before he could penetrate; from which difficulties his corps was for a considerable time exposed to the fire of three pieces of cannon. As soon as this attack began, the light infantry moved, and landed under a brisk fire, before and after they had quitted the boats, from a party of the rebels posted behind rocks and trees; however, by getting up a very steep uneven mountain with their usual activity, they soon dispersed the enemy. The guards, followed by the grenadiers and 33d, landed without any loss.

Intelligence, in the mean time, being received that Lord Percy had carried an advanced work, orders were sent to Lieutenant Colonel Sterling, commanding the 42d regiment, to endeavour to land, and for two battalions of the second brigade to support him. Upon which he immediately advanced in his boats through a heavy fire with great perseverance; and forcing his way up a steep height, which was well defended by a body of the rebels, he gained the summit, took 170 prisoners, and penetrating across the island, facilitated Lord Percy's success against the enemy's lines opposed to him, which his Lordship passed.

Colonel Raille, who led the right column of Lieutenant-general Knyphausen's attack, having, after a considerable opposition, forced the enemy from their strong holds, pushed forward to their advanced works, and lodged his column within one hundred yards of the fort, from whence he summoned them to surrender, upon which they readily desired to treat.

Lieutenant-general Knyphausen's column having more impediments to encounter in passing through the wood, could not join the right column until they had got up to the fort. The enemy, upon his appearance, surrendered prisoners of war, to the number of 2700, including officers, besides the prisoners made by the 42d regiment.

The enemy had three officers and fifty men killed, and six officers and ninety men wounded, in the different attacks.

Fort Lee being the next object for the entire command of North-river, and a ready road to penetrate into Jersey, an addition of boats, under the command of Captain Phipps, was sent by the Admiral to King's Bridge, in the night of the 17th, without being discovered by the enemy. The first division for embarkation landed next day, at eight o'clock in the morning, about seven miles above the fort, while the second division marched up the east side of the river, by which movement the whole corps, as *per margin* *, were landed with their cannon by ten o'clock, under the command of Lieutenant-general Earl Cornwallis. The seamen distinguished themselves remarkably upon this occasion, by their readiness to drag the cannon up a rocky narrow road, for near half a mile, to the top of a precipice, which bounds the shore for some miles on the west side.

Lord Cornwallis immediately began his march, and had not the enemy, at Fort Lee, been apprized of his moving towards them, by a countryman, after he had proceeded some distance, he would have surrounded 2000 men at the fort, who escaped in the utmost confusion, leaving all their artillery, and a large quantity of stores and provisions, their tents standing, and kettles upon the fire.

His Lordship encamped that night near the fort, making use of the enemy's tents.

The next day, Major-general Vaughan, with the light infantry and British grenadiers, was detached to the new bridge, upon Hackinsack-river, and a detachment of the 16th dragoons, under the command of Colonel Harcourt, was sent over to fort Lee. This detachment, with some companies of light infantry, scoured the country on the 22d; as far as Piscaick-river, and found the enemy had abandoned all the intermediate country, their advanced guard being at Aquakinnunc.

On the 24th, the 2d and 4th brigades of British, and one battalion of the 71st regiment, joined his Lordship, who, leaving the 2d brigade at fort Lee, advanced with the main body on the 25th, to the new-bridge. On the enemy retiring from Newark, as his Lordship approached, he took possession

* First and 2d battalions of light infantry; two companies of chasseurs; two battalions of British, and two ditto of Hessian grenadiers; two battalions of guards; 38d and 42d regiments,

possession of that place on the 28th, and is now following them, retreating toward Brunswick.

I cannot too highly acknowledge the active services of Lieutenant General Clinton on every occasion, the support I have at all times received from the other general officers, and the zealous ardour of all ranks whatsoever, during the course of this campaign.

The Hessian troops, under the command of Lieutenant Generals Heister and Knyphausen, have also exhibited every good disposition to promote his Majesty's interests, and justly merit my acknowledgement of their services.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

W. HOWE,

Copy of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, dated New York, 30th Nov. 1776.
[Received 30th December.]

MY LORD,

THE troops being upon the eve of going into winter cantonments, I trouble your Lordship with this separate letter respecting the succeeding operation of the present campaign, and with some particulars relative to the next.

Lieutenant Generals Clinton and Lord Percy are under orders to sail with the first fair wind to take possession of Rhode Island, having a force exceeding 6000 rank and file, which I judge to be sufficient for the operation; and although the expedition may miscarry from the late season of the year, yet, on account of the great importance of the object, I have hazarded the consequences of a disappointment from that cause, not doubting of success if the weather proves tolerably favourable. In this opinion I am strengthened by the cheerfulness with which it is undertaken by the two generals to be employed, and from the little preparation the enemy has made to defend it, by the latest intelligence received.

In consequence of my expectation that Lord Cornwallis will shortly be in possession of East Jersey, I propose to quarter a large body of troops in that district, without which we should be under much difficulty to find covering, forage, and supplies of fresh provisions for the army. The plan of the enemy, by their public orders, is to destroy all species of forage and stock as they retire before his Majesty's troops, which I am hopeful they will not have time to accomplish; and their further design seems to be to retreat behind the Ra-
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riton river, or perhaps behind the Delaware, to cover Philadelphia.

By the best information from the northward, I learn the army from Canada was obliged, by the severity of the weather, to repass the lake from Crown Point on the 5th inst. from which event, and a consideration of the difficulties that army must meet with, before it reaches Albany, in the course of next campaign, it is reasonable to conclude this will not be effected earlier than the month of September. In that persuasion I would humbly mention my ideas for the operations of the next campaign, with the force they may require, in order, if possible, to finish the war in one year, by an extensive and vigorous exertion of his Majesty's arms.

1st. An offensive army of 10,000 rank and file, to act on the side of Rhode Island, by taking possession of Providence, penetrating from thence into the country towards Boston, and, if possible, to reduce that town: 2000 men to be left for the defence of Rhode Island, and for making small incursions, under the protection of the shipping, upon the coast of Connecticut. This army to be commanded by Lieutenant General Clinton.

2d. An offensive army in the province of New York, to move up the North River to Albany, to consist of not less than 10,000 men, and 5000 for the defence of New York and adjacent posts.

3d. A defensive army of 8000 men to cover Jersey, and to keep the southern army in check, by giving a jealousy to Philadelphia, which I would propose to attack in autumn, as well as Virginia, provided the success of other operations will admit of an adequate force to be sent against that province.

South Carolina and Georgia must be the objects for winter. But to complete this plan, not less than ten ships of the line will be absolutely requisite, and a reinforcement of troops, to the amount of 15,000 rank and file, which I should hope may be had from Russia, or from Hanover, and other German states, particularly from Hanoverian chaffeurs, who I am well informed are exceeding good troops.

By this calculation the army in the southern district would consist of 35,000 effective men, to oppose 50,000 that the American Congress has voted for the service of next campaign.

The enemy, though much depressed at the success of his Majesty's arms, are encouraged by the strongest assurances from their leaders of procuring assistance from foreign powers, for which end it is understood that Dr. Franklin is gone to
France

France. to solicit aid from that court. I do not presume to point out a way of counteracting him ; but were that effected, and the force I have mentioned sent out, it would strike such terror through the country, that little resistance would be made to the progress of his Majesty's arms in the provinces of New England, New York, the Jerseys, and Pennsylvania, after the junction of the northern and southern armies.

As the army must, at all events, be much divided in the ensuing campaign, I beg leave earnestly to solicit your Lordship for an additional battalion of artillery, for the good effects of which I can be responsible from the great terror of the enemy, on all past occasions where the artillery has appeared. A few light six and three pounders will also be wanted on this plan of operations.

I beg leave, at the same time, to request an additional number of officers to the guards, who, when complete, have only three to one hundred men, whereas, in some companies there are only two ; and although the men behave with great spirit, yet the temptations of plunder are so great, that it is not in the power of a few officers to keep the men under restraint.

The date of the King's warrant for my appointments to vacant commissions being on the 22d of June, and superseding the authority given in your Lordship's letter of the 12th of said month, I shall not presume to post to any vacancies that may happen in the detachment of guards ; neither would it be in any degree essential to the interests of his Majesty's service that I should exercise this power, since the number of officers would not be thereby augmented.

The remount and additional horses for the light dragoons, I hope, may be sent out early, as the good services they have performed this campaign, and the dread the enemy have of them, has been fully experienced upon every occasion. I therefore beg leave to request that 300 horses, with saddles and accoutrements, may be sent out in March for this service, and I could wish to have them from Ireland, as more hardy, and more accustomed to get over fences than the horses from England.

Colonel Prescott, commanding at St. Augustine, has requested to have the rank of brigadier general upon the American service, and, knowing him to be a worthy good officer, I beg leave to recommend him to his Majesty's favour.

I also beg leave to recommend Dr. Morris, physician, who has served this and the last campaign to general satisfaction, and with great credit to himself, to be inspector of the hospitals of this army ; as it must be much divided in the course of
this

this winter, and the next campaign, I apprehend such an appointment in his favour will be for the interest of his Majesty's service. I am, &c.

W. HOWE.

Copy of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, dated New York, 3d Dec. 1776.

[Received December 30th.]

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship a return of ordnance and stores, taken from the enemy since the landing of his Majesty's troops at Frog's Neck, in West Chester county, from the 12th October to the 20th November; those in the commissary and quarter master general's branches are also very considerable; but as it has not been in their power hitherto to ascertain them, the reports must therefore be deferred to the next opportunity.

I also inclose a return of prisoners taken during the campaign, and am very sorry to add, I find myself under the necessity of detaining them, though at a very great expence and inconvenience, until the rebels return the King's officers and men, now prisoners with them, for the performance of which, I have had frequent assurances, though hitherto delayed under various pretences. I have even allowed some of their principal officers, at their earnest request, to go to their Congress, and endeavour to expedite the exchange, which being once effected, I shall soon rid myself of the remaining incumbrance.

In consequence of permission, formerly received from his Majesty, I appointed Sir William Erskine quarter-master general to this army, on the 7th October last past. These services he has since rendered in the military line of that department, have sufficiently proved his abilities, and intitle him to every acknowledgment in my power to make, which I am fully sensible is the best plea I can offer in recommendation of my appointment with his Majesty.

I am, &c.

W. HOWE.

Extract

Extract of a Letter from Lord George Germain to General Howe, dated Whitehall, 30th Sept. 1776.

[Received 10th October.]

SIR,

I AM favoured with your letters from the head quarters upon Staten Island, dated 6th and 15th August ; in the latter of which you acknowledge the receipt of my dispatches of the 11th and 12th June, and also of the camp equipage which had been sent to you from Europe.

The safe arrival of the two fleets, under convoy of Commodore Hotham, and the *Repulse*, was a very welcome piece of intelligence : and I have had the pleasure of receiving a confirmation of the report which you mention, relative to the healthy state of the guards and Hessians.

I am too well convinced of your zeal and alertness to suppose that there will be any unnecessary delays in your operations ; and I most sincerely wish you all the success, during the campaign, which the justice of the cause in which you are engaged so amply deserves, and which I flatter myself the known bravery of the troops employed in this service will not fail to ensure.

It is very unfortunate that so great a part of the 42d and 71st regiments should have fallen into the rebels' hands. The loss of Major Menzies is much to be lamented, but I trust you will soon have it in your power to procure the release of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, and the other prisoners, as I observe with a particular satisfaction, that you have agreed with Mr. Washington that the prisoners should be exchanged.

I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAIN.

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germain to General Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, 18th Oct. 1776.

[Received 15th December.]

I HAVE had the honour to submit to the King the proposal contained in your letter to me of the 2d of September, No. 25, for an augmentation of the corps of Hessian chassieurs, commanded by Colonel Donop ; and I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that his Majesty is graciously pleased to approve of what is proposed, and the proper steps will immediately be taken, for entering into a treaty with the Landgrave of Hesse, for that purpose ; and as I do not foresee any

any difficulty in effecting it, I have no doubt you will receive them early in the next campaign.

The arrangement you have made for a more exact method of settling the accounts of subsistence and contingencies of the new levies, appears to be very proper ; but as it belongs to the lords commissioners of the treasury to give directions upon that head, I have communicated to their lordships your letter to me, No. 24, and I have no doubt you will receive their Lordships' approbation of the commission you have given to Captain Mackenzie, and the appointment you have made him, in consequence thereof.

I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAIN.

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germain to General Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, 18th Oct. 1776.

[Received 15th December.]

SIR,

I HAD infinite satisfaction in receiving from Major Cuyler your public dispatch of the 3d September, wherein you inform me of the success of the King's forces against the rebels upon Long Island.

The behaviour of both officers and soldiers, British and Hessians, was (as you well observe) highly to their honour, and has, consequently, obtained his Majesty's strongest approbation.

Conscious, as you must be, of having discharged your duty in a most distinguished and exemplary manner, you will scarcely imagine that you are included in the above general description. To you, Sir, however, I am commanded to signify, in more particular terms, the high opinion which your Sovereign entertains of your services on that trying and glorious occasion.

Those who, in the early part of your life, from an observation of the inborn courage and active spirit which you manifested in inferior stations, were led to form favourable conjectures, relative to your future exploits, will, with me, be happy to find their expectations so fully answered ; and will be agreeably surprised to see you making such hasty advances towards military excellence, by thus uniting to the fire of youth all the wisdom and conduct of the most experienced commander.

Such is the persuasion which I have of Vice-Admiral Lord Howe's skill, and his attention to the good of the service, that even, though you had not particularized the judicious
move-

movement of the ships, on the 27th, at day break, I should undoubtedly, have nevertheless concluded that his Lordship had availed himself of every circumstance, and made every manœuvre which was likely to deceive or annoy the rebels, and to advance the glory of his Majesty's arms.

The expedition, regularity, and success, with which the debarkation of the troops and cannon were effected, at the same time it does infinite honour to Lord Howe, who made the disposition, reflects no small degree of credit upon Commodore Hotham, who had the conduct of that important service. It was, indeed, natural to expect that both men and officers, sensible, as they are, that they were acting under the all-inspecting eye of an admiral whom they so deservedly love and admire, would exert themselves to the utmost, and execute his Lordship's commands with punctuality as well as cheerfulness.

I beg leave to congratulate you on a victory to which you so eminently contributed, and have the honour to be, &c.

GEO. GERMAIN.

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germain to Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, 18th October 1776.
[Received 15th December.]

SIR,

IT is impossible that any person, who has duly attended to your military conduct, and found it, from your entrance into the army, invariably directed by an unintermitted ambition to serve your King and Country, can imagine that your meritorious behaviour has been unnoticed by his Majesty, or that his gracious approbation has not been frequently communicated to you by his ministers in their respective dispatches.

His Majesty, however, being desirous that the high sense which he has of your successful endeavours to serve him, should be still of greater notoriety, has thought proper to afford you a more public testimony of his royal favour, and has, therefore, out of his special regard to merit wherever it is found, been graciously pleased to nominate you to be one of the knights companions of the most honourable order of the Bath.

You will accordingly receive herewith the proper insignia, together with a dispensation for wearing them, and also the statutes of the order.

I have likewise the honour to transmit to you a letter from Lord Viscount Weymouth, addressed to Vice-Admiral Lord Viscount

Viscount Howe, which you will please to deliver to his Lordship.

You will learn from the inclosed copy thereof, that the King has been pleased to direct his Lordship to perform the ceremony of investing you with the ensigns of the order.

You will do me the justice to believe me sincerely happy in conveying to you this additional mark of his Majesty's increasing approbation of your conduct, and will give me leave to offer you my most unfeigned congratulations upon this unsolicited accumulation of your honours.

I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAIN.

Copy of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, dated New York, 18th December 1776.

[Received 23d February.]

MY LORD,

BY Major Cuyler's arrival in the Despencer packet, on the 15th instant, I had the honour of your Lordship's triuplicate of the 22d August, and inclosure, with your letter of 30th September, and three of 18th October.

The King's most gracious approbation of the behaviour of his officers and soldiers, British and Hessians, is received by them with a sense of gratitude, equal to that zeal which they have demonstrated, and, I make no doubt, will continue to exert upon all occasions for his Majesty's service. The testimony, also, which your Lordships has done me the honour to convey, of his Majesty's condescension, in taking notice of my humble endeavours to discharge the duty I owe to my royal master, being the height of my ambition, I humbly beg your Lordship will do me the honour to express my most grateful feelings for such unmerited goodness.

The exchange of prisoners, by agreement with Mr. Washington, has not been so generally complied with as I had reason to expect: but the officers and men of the 7th and 26th regiments are mostly returned; and several of those of the 42d and 71st. Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, with most of the officers and men taken with him, are still detained, which may make it necessary for me to send an officer purposely to remonstrate upon the injustice of this delay.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. HOWE.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, dated New York, 20th December 1776.

[Received 23d February 1777.]

I HAVE the honour to inclose an extract of a letter from Lieutenant-general Clinton, containing advice of his being in possession of Rhode Island, without any loss to his Majesty's troops. The season may be found too far advanced for him to proceed to Providence, but, if practicable, I am confident the attempt will be made; the advantages to be derived from this acquisition are nevertheless very important.

In Jersey, upon the approach of the van of Lord Cornwallis's corps to Brunswick by a forced march, on the 1st instant, the enemy went off most precipitately to Prince Town; and had they not prevented the passage of the Rariton, by breaking a part of Brunswick bridge, so great was the confusion among them, that their army must inevitably have been cut to pieces.

My first design extending no further than to get and keep possession of East Jersey, Lord Cornwallis had orders not to advance beyond Brunswick, which occasioned him to discontinue his pursuit; but finding the advantages that might be gained by pushing on to the Delaware, and the possibility of getting to Philadelphia, the communication leading to Brunswick was reinforced, and on the 6th I joined his Lordship with the 4th brigade of British under the command of Major-general Grant. On the 7th Lord Cornwallis's corps, the guards excepted, who were left at Brunswick, marched to Prince Town, which the enemy had quitted on the same day. This corps marched in two divisions on the 8th: the first advancing to Trenton, reached the Delaware soon after the enemy's rear guard had crossed. Their main army having passed the preceding day and night, took post on the other side of the river.

Lord Cornwallis with the rear division halted at Maidenhead, six miles from Trenton, and marched at one o'clock next morning to Corriel's ferry, thirteen miles higher up the Delaware, in some expectation of finding boats there, and in the neighbourhood, sufficient to pass the river; but in this he was disappointed, the enemy having taken the precaution to destroy, or to secure on the south side, all the boats that could possibly be employed for that purpose.

The passage of the Delaware being thus rendered impracticable, his Lordship took post at Pennington, in which place and Trenton, the two divisions remained until the 14th, when the weather having become too severe to keep the field, and the winter cantonments being arranged, the troops marched from both places to their respective stations. The chain, I own, is rather too extensive, but I was induced to occupy Burlington, to cover the county of Monmouth, in which there are many loyal inhabitants; and trusting to the almost general submission of the county to the southward of this chain, and to the strength of the corps placed in the advanced posts, I conclude the troops will be in perfect security. Lord Cornwallis having desired to return to Britain, the command in Jersey is given to Major-general Grant, in whose approved good conduct I have the greatest confidence.

I cannot too much commend Lord Cornwallis's good services during this campaign; and particularly the ability and conduct he displayed in the pursuit of the enemy from Fort Lee to Trenton; a distance exceeding eighty miles, in which he was well supported by the ardour of his corps, who cheerfully quitted their tents and heavy baggage, as impediments to their march.

By pressing the rebels so close, they had not time to destroy the country, as they intended, or to remove their stores; by which a large quantity of provisions, and plenty of forage, have been secured.

During Lord Cornwallis's stay at Pennington, a patrol of thirty dragoons from the 16th regiment was sent out to gain intelligence of a corps under the command of General Lee, reported to be in Morris County on their way to cross the Delaware at Alexandria. Lieutenant-colonel Harcourt desired the direction of this detachment, and learning, as he proceeded, the situation of this corps, consisting of 2000 men, and of General Lee's head quarters, he contrived, by infinite address and gallantry, to get to his house undiscovered by the guard, surrounded it, and overcoming all their resistance, made the general a prisoner.

Being confident this gallant action will not escape his Majesty's gracious attention, it is needless for me to recommend Lieutenant-colonel Harcourt to the King's notice upon this occasion.

I must also mention the signal services of Sir William Erskine, in his department of Quarter-master-general, whose indefatigable zeal has eminently contributed to the success of
this

this campaign; nor must I omit Major Maitland, of the corps of marines, who has the command of the 2d battalion of light infantry, in which he has distinguished himself much to his honour.

The time of service, for which most of the enemy's troops were engaged, being expired, their present strength, from a review of the latest intelligence received, is about 8000 on the south side of the Delaware, and in Philadelphia; 500 militia embodied in Morris County, New Jersey, and about 3000 at Peck's Kill, North Castle, and the smaller posts in this province. Major-general Robertson, who served the campaign, by his Majesty's permission, will return to Britain by the earliest opportunity.

Extract of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, dated New York, 20th December 1776.

[Received 23d February 1777.]

IN my separate letter by the Tamer, No. 32, I mentioned my ideas for the several operations in the course of the ensuing campaign, and proposed a defensive corps in Jersey for the early part of the year: but the opinions of people being much changed in Pennsylvania, and their minds, in general, from the late progress of the army, disposed to peace, in which sentiment they would be confirmed, by our getting possession of Philadelphia, I am, from this consideration, fully persuaded, the principal army should act offensively on that side, where the enemy's chief strength will certainly be collected.

By this change, the offensive plan towards Boston must be deferred until the proposed reinforcements arrive from Europe, that there may be a corps to act defensively upon the lower part of Hudson's river, to cover Jersey on that side, as well as to facilitate, in some degree, the approach of the army from Canada.

The arrangement I would humbly propose for the execution of this plan is, that only 2000 men should remain at Rhode Island, with a proper number of ships, 4000 men on York Island and posts adjacent, and 3000 men on Hudson's river, which will leave about 10,000 men for Pennsylvania, including, on a rough computation, that the extent of our strength at the opening of the campaign will not exceed 19,000 men.

But as those operations, perhaps of the last importance to the nation, may depend upon the exigencies of the moment,

I request your Lordship to point out any general plans that may be thought most adviseable, both with respect to the present strength of this army, and on the event of reinforcements, remarking the periods of time in which these troops may be expected. I would further propose, that every augmentation of troops should come to this port, in the first instance, from whence they can be readily disposed of, as may be found requisite.

We must not look for the northern army to reach Albany before the middle of September, of course, the subsequent operations of that corps will depend upon the state of things at the time.

Cloathing, tents, and every species of camp equipage, will be wanted for the Hessian troops and regiment of Waldeck.

The inclosed return will shew the number of men wanting to complete these corps, and if 200 were added to the Hessian quota, and 30 to that of Waldeck, I think the casualties of the winter may reasonably be computed to amount to that number.

The 7th and 26th regiments being mostly exchanged, and the season not admitting of their going to Canada before the spring, I beg to have his Majesty's commands for the disposal of those battalions.

I cannot close this letter, without making mention of the good services rendered in the course of the campaign by Cortland Skinner, Esq. attorney-general in the Jerseys, who has been indefatigable, and of infinite service, since the army entered those provinces; I therefore humbly recommend him as a gentleman meriting the royal favour.

Copy of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, dated New York, 21st Dec. 1776.

[Received 6th March 1777.]

MY LORD,

CAPTAIN Emmerick, who has been very useful to me in the course of this campaign, will have the honour of presenting this letter to your Lordship, on his return to Britain, in order to raise a corps of German chaffeurs.

If your Lordship is pleased to recommend such a measure to his Majesty, and it should meet with approbation, I have reason to believe the corps would be well commanded by
 Captain

Captain Emmerick, and can assure that troops of this class are much wanted, and would render essential services in the course of the war.

I have the honour to be

Your Lordship's most faithful

and most obedient servant,

W. HOWE.

Copy of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, dated New York, 28th Dec. 1776.

[Received 23d February 1777.]

MY LORD,

LIEUTENANT Colonel White, who has served a volunteer in this army for a part of the campaign, and to whom I have given the care of my dispatches by this conveyance, has mentioned to me a plan he had the honour of proposing to the secretary at war, a short time before he left England, for drafting forty or fifty volunteers from each regiment of dragoons in England, with officers in proportion, to form a battalion to serve on foot in America. As this scheme would add to the army an exceeding serviceable corps, and well officered, I would humbly submit the propriety of it to your Lordship's consideration, and if approved, hope your Lordship will lay it before the King. I do not dwell upon the particulars of this proposal, as Lieutenant-colonel White will have the honour of giving your Lordship all the information that may be required further, than to recommend him for the command.

I have the honour to be

your Lordship's

faithful and most obedient servant,

WILL. HOWE.

Copy of a Letter from General Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, dated New York, December 29, 1776.

[Received 23d February 1777.]

ON the 25th instant, in the evening, a party of the enemy attacked an outguard from the post of Trenton, where Colonel Rall commanded with three battalions of Hessians, fifty chasseurs, and twenty light dragoons, having with them six field pieces; which party was beaten back. On the succeeding morning at six o'clock the rebels appeared in force

with cannon, evidently intending to attack the post. Colonel Rall, having received intelligence of their design, had the troops under arms, and detached his own regiment to support an advanced picket: this picket being forced, and falling back upon the regiment, threw it into some disorder, which occasioned them to retire upon the other battalions; no advantage being taken of this, they recovered themselves, and the whole formed in front of the village.

The rebels, without advancing, cannonaded them in this situation, and Colonel Rall moved forward to attack them, with the regiments of Lofsberg and Rall; in which attack Colonel Rall was wounded; and the regiments were made prisoners. The rebels then advanced to the regiment of Knyphausen, and also made that corps prisoners.

Some few officers, and about two hundred men of the brigade, with the chasseurs, and a party of dragoons, retreated to Colonel Donop's corps at Burdenton, six miles distant. Several officers were wounded, and about forty men killed and wounded.

This misfortune seems to have proceeded from Col. Rall's quitting his post, and advancing to the attack, instead of defending the village.

The rebels recrossed the river Delaware immediately, with the prisoners and cannon they had taken.

Copy of a Letter from General Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, dated New York, January 5, 1777.

[Received the 23^d February.]

IN consequence of the advantage gained by the enemy at Trenton, on the 26th of last month, and the necessity of an alteration in the cantonments, Lord Cornwallis deferring his going to England by this opportunity, went from hence to Jersey on the 1st instant, and reached Prince Town that night, to which place General Grant had advanced, with a body of troops from Brunswick and Hillsborough, upon gaining intelligence that the enemy, on receiving reinforcements from Virginia, Maryland, and from the militia of Pennsylvania, had repassed the Delaware into Jersey.

On the 2d, Lord Cornwallis having received accounts of the rebel army being posted at Trenton, advanced thither, leaving the 4th brigade under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Mawhood, at Prince Town, and the 2d brigade with
Brigadier

Brigadier-general Leslie at Maidenhead. On the approach of the British troops the enemy's forward posts were driven back upon their army, which was formed in a strong position, behind a creek running through Trenton. During the night of the 2d the enemy quitted this situation, and marching by Allen's Town, and from thence to Prince Town, fell in on the morning of the 3d with the 17th and 55th regiments, on their march to join Brigadier-general Leslie at Maidenhead.

Lieutenant colonel Mawhood, not being apprehensive of the enemy's strength, attacked and beat back the troops that first presented themselves to him, but finding them at length very superior to him in numbers, he pushed forward with the 17th regiment, and joined Brigadier-general Leslie. The 55th regiment retired, by the way of Hillsborough to Brunswick, and the enemy proceeding immediately to Prince Town, the 40th regiment also retired to Brunswick.

The loss upon this occasion to his Majesty's troops is 17 killed, and nearly 200 wounded and missing; Captain Leslie of the 17th is among the few killed, and for further particulars I beg leave to refer your Lordship to the inclosed return. Captain Phillips, of the 35th grenadiers, returning from hence to join his company, was, on this day, beset between Brunswick and Prince Town by some lurking villains, who murdered him in a most barbarous manner; which is a mode of war the enemy seem, from several late instances, to have adopted, with a degree of barbarity that savages could not exceed.

It has not yet come to my knowledge how much the enemy has suffered, but it is certain there were many killed and wounded, and among the former a General Mercer from Virginia.

The bravery and conduct of Lieutenant-colonel Mawhood, and the behaviour of the regiments under his command, particularly the 17th, are highly commended by Lord Cornwallis.—His Lordship finding the enemy had made this movement, and having heard the fire occasioned by Col. Mawhood's attack, returned immediately from Trenton; but the enemy being some hours march in front, and keeping this advantage by an immediate departure from Prince Town, retreated by King's Town, breaking down the bridge behind them, and crossed the Millstone river, at a bridge under Rocky Hill, to throw themselves into a strong country.

Lord Cornwallis seeing it could not answer any purpose to continue his pursuit, returned with his whole force to Brun-

wick, and the troops at the right being assembled at Elizabeth Town, Major-general Vaughan has that command.

Return of the killed, wounded, and missing, of the following corps of his Majesty's Forces in the Jerseys, Friday, January 3, 1777.

17th regiment, 1 captain, 12 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 4 serjeants, 46 rank and file, wounded; 1 serjeant, 1 drummer, 33 rank and file, missing.

40th regiment. 1 lieutenant wounded; 1 ensign, 3 serjeants, 1 drummer, 88 rank and file, missing.

55th regiment. 1 serjeant, 4 rank and file, killed; 1 ensign, 1 serjeant, 2 rank and file, wounded; 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 1 ensign, 1 serjeant, 2 drummers, 66 rank and file, missing.

Total. 1 captain, 1 serjeant, 16 rank and file, killed; 1 captain, 2 lieutenants, 2 ensigns, 5 serjeants, 48 rank and file, wounded; 1 captain, 1 lieutenant, 2 ensigns, 5 serjeants, 4 drummers, 987 rank and file, missing.

Hon. Captain Leslie, of the 17th regiment of foot, killed.

Captain Phillips, of the 35th grenadiers, killed on his way to join the battalion.

N. B. Since the above return many of the men missing have joined their corps.

It appears by the muster-master general, Sir George Osborn's return of the Hessian troops, after the affair of the 26th of December at Trenton, that the prisoners and missing amounted to about 700.

Copy of a Letter from General Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, dated New York, 17th Jan. 1777.

[Received 3d March.]

MY LORD,

THERE being two packets here, I send home one with duplicates of my dispatches to your Lordship by the Bristol ship of war.

The enemy still continuing in force in Morris Town, and in that neighbourhood, and receiving daily reinforcements from the eastern militia, Major-general Vaughan, with the corps he had at Elizabeth Town, is removed to Amboy. Lord Cornwallis remains at Brunswick, as when I had the honour of writing to your Lordship on the 5th instant. In this position the enemy's motions will be watched, without hazarding

ing a march at a severe season, which does not admit of distant movements for want of cover for the troops.

The design of the enemy seems to be to harraßs the troops, by keeping them assembled where there is not sufficient accommodation for their numbers, hoping, by that means, to force us to relinquish our posts in Jersey. A considerable body of militia is also assembled in Connecticut, to give a jealousy to this place, which is threatened to be burnt by treachery.

I have the honour to inclose to your Lordship copies of my last letters from Governor Tonyn, Governor Chester, Mr. Stuart, superintendant of Indian affairs, and Lieutenant Colonel Dixon, of the 16th regiment, with several inclosures, from which your Lordship may collect the probable state of East and West Florida; also copies of my letters in answer to Governor Tonyn and Mr. Stuart.

The remote situation of those provinces disqualify me from being more pointed than I have been in my directions for their procedure; which is therefore in a great measure referred to their determination upon the spot. It is principally for this reason that I humbly submit to your Lordship, if his Majesty's service would not be promoted by putting the military in each province under the command of a general officer, who would be more at liberty to exert his force than while subject to a governor and his civil council.

Major General Massey reports that he has informed your Lordship of the transactions under his command in Nova Scotia, which province is relieved from their late apprehensions by the invaders being repelled. It is therefore unnecessary for me to be more particular on this subject.

I am, &c.

W. HOWE.

Extract of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, dated New York, 20th January 1777.

[Received 3d March.]

IT is with much concern that I am to inform your Lordship, the unfortunate and untimely defeat at Trenton has thrown us further back than was at first apprehended, from the great encouragement it has given to the rebels.

I do not now see a prospect of terminating the war, but by a general action, and I am aware of the difficulties in our way to obtain it, as the enemy moves with so much more celerity than we possibly can.

Nor

Nor can we hazard a march, at this unfavourable season, with any hopes of making a stroke upon the enemy, in his present situation, that might turn the scale in our favour.

Concluding upon the certainty of another campaign, am confident I need not press your Lordship to send us every reinforcement of troops for immediate service that can be procured; 20,000 men would by no means exceed our wants, yet 15,000 will give us a superiority that, I should hope, may be materially experienced in the course of the campaign. Philadelphia being now the principal object, by the greater number we should be enabled to detach a corps to enter the Delaware by sea, and the main body to penetrate into Pennsylvania, by way of Jersey: there would also in that case be a sufficient corps to act from Rhode Island. On the other hand, if the reinforcements are small, the operations will be much curtailed; or if none should arrive, we shall be confined to act in one body in Jersey, leaving only a small corps at Rhode Island, and another of sufficient force for the defence of this island and its dependencies.

Copy of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, dated New York, 12th February 1777.

[Received 19th March.]

MY LORD,

THE disposition of the troops in this quarter having undergone little alteration since my last dispatch of the 17th of January, I have only to advise your Lordship of the return of a brigade of British, and some companies of grenadiers and light infantry, from Rhode Island, to strengthen Lord Cornwallis's corps in Jersey, in order to enable his Lordship, with more security to the posts of Brunswick and Amboy, to make a movement, when the weather proves favourable, against the enemy still remaining at Morris Town.

Lieutenant General Clinton being gone to England, Lord Percy has succeeded to the command at Rhode Island, and has with him Major General Prescott, one troop of the 17th light dragoons, one Brigade of British, and two of Hessians. A body of the enemy's militia is collected at Providence, for the defence of that place, and to watch his Lordship's motions; but I do not entertain the smallest apprehensions of their acting offensively against the island.

His excellency, Governor Tryon, has offered his services in the command of a corps of provincials for the ensuing campaign,

paign, and presuming the measure will be approved by his Majesty, I shall endeavour to place such a corps under his command as may be of essential use in the prosecution of the war.

The French officers in the inclosed list are sent by this opportunity, under the care of Captain James S. Patton, of the 6th regiment of foot, with directions to advise your Lordship of his arrival, and to wait your commands for their further disposal.

Major General Robertson, who will have the honour to deliver this dispatch, can give your Lordship the best information respecting the present state of this country, and the prospects the rebels have of bringing into the field an army of more than 50,000 men. They are most sanguine in their expectations, and conscious that their whole stake depends upon the success of the next campaign, use every compulsory means to those who do not enter voluntarily into their service.

I do not presume to press your Lordship further upon the necessity of the reinforcements I have formerly mentioned, to counteract the efforts of the enemy, being fully persuaded, if my ideas, for the operations of this year, should meet with approbation in the cabinet, every assistance will be given that can be procured; but at all events, I beg leave to repeat my requests for another battalion of artillery and recruits to complete the companies now here.

If it is not thought proper to send out the additional general officers I had the honour of mentioning in a former letter to your Lordship, it will be necessary to appoint some of the eldest lieutenant colonels of the line to act as brigadiers; but to gain the services of four of that rank, six lieutenant colonels, belonging to the detachment of guards, must be included, who, upon such an arrangement, could not do duty in their corps; I would, therefore, humbly propose, that junior captains be sent to relieve those gentlemen, whereby this inconvenience would be avoided, and an opportunity offered to appoint officers from the line to command the brigades. In Sir Guy Carleton's army, lieutenant colonels of later date than many here, have acted here as brigadier generals, since their arrival in Canada, which has not passed unnoticed by their seniors serving in this army; I, therefore, beg your Lordship will take this matter into consideration, and honour me with his Majesty's commands upon it.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. HOWE.

Copied

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germain to General Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, November 6, 1776.

[Received March 10, 1777:

SIR,

BEING informed that his Majesty's service makes it necessary that a packet should be dispatched to-night, I unexpectedly enjoy a very early opportunity of acknowledging the receipt of your several letters of the 21st, 23d; and 24th September, which you entrusted to the care of Captain Balfour.

They were delivered by him in the evening of the 2d instant, and were by me laid before the King.

The city of New-York was an object of so great importance, that the news of the evacuation thereof by the rebels was received with general satisfaction. And I have a particular pleasure in being commanded to inform you, that his Majesty has in the strongest terms approved of your conduct, and highly applauds the behaviour of the officers and men employed upon that occasion.

The service of the Commander in Chief of the troops is a topic upon which I could here enlarge with much justice, and with no small degree of satisfaction, if the early sailing of the packet did not compel me to use an unwilling brevity.

Hurried, however, as I am, I cannot help observing, that the commendations which you so liberally bestow upon the officers of the navy, and the seamen belonging to the ships of war and the transports, is the most honourable testimony that could have been given in their favour; and I make no doubt, but they esteemed it a circumstance peculiarly fortunate for them, that they were called upon to co-operate with a General who was known to have discernment enough to distinguish merit, and candour enough to give it its due weight wherever it was found.

I am happy to learn that your success was attended with so inconsiderable a loss, and that Lieutenant Colonel Mönckton is in so fair a way of recovery.

The attempt which was made to burn the town of New-York might well exasperate the troops: I trust that an apprehension of condign punishment will deter the infatuated wretches from persevering in their resolutions, and have good hope that the inquiry which you have set on foot will serve to discover the original promoters and abettors of the villainous design.

Your short letter of Sept. 24 requires no farther answer, than that I should express my joy on account of the troops having met with no opposition, either to their lodgings upon
Paulus

Paulus Hook, or to their taking possession of the batteries and redoubts at that post. The advantages which you have hitherto gained over the rebels have been rapid, and are extremely important; and I am confident you will, in reflecting upon them, derive a sincere satisfaction from the consideration, that the troops under your command have been able to give such signal proofs of their bravery, and render such essential services to their King and Country, without suffering any material injury from the enemy.

I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAIN.

Extract of a Letter from Lord George Germain to Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, 6th November 1776.

[Received March 10.]

SIR,

I Communicated to the Lords of the Treasury your letter to me of the 16th of August, notifying your appointment of Captain Mackenzie to be Paymaster of the new levies, and containing your reasons for it; and I have the pleasure to send you inclosed a copy of Mr. Robinson's letter to Mr. Knox, signifying their Lordships approbation of that appointment.

The great importance of engaging the southern Indians in our interest, has not escaped his Majesty's attention; and you will see by the inclosed copies of my letters to Mr. Stuart, what care has been taken to supply that officer with the means of securing the fidelity of those people, and the instructions which have been given him for his conduct respecting them. He will of course receive your orders for employing them in seconding any operations you may think fit to direct against those colonies; and it must give you satisfaction to find he is in so good a condition to carry into execution whatever orders you may think proper to give him.

Extract of a Letter from Lord George Germain to Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, January 14, 1777.

[Received March 9.]

HAVING always been of opinion that the possession of Rhode Island would be attended with the most beneficial consequences, I was extremely happy to find, (by your separate letter of November 30, 1776,) that you had thought proper to send an expedition to that place; and though it must be confessed that winter and bad weather are formidable enemies to contend

contend with, I cannot help being sanguine in my expectations from troops, whom you have accustomed to success in all their undertakings; and I am the less capable to entertain the smallest apprehension of a miscarriage, when I reflect that you entrusted the command of those troops to men of such tried courage, as Lieutenant General Clinton and Lord Percy are known to possess. But be the event what it may, I shall ever think that the importance of the object was an ample justification of the attempt, even if the enemy had been better prepared for an opposition to your enterprize.

With regard to the army under the command of Earl Cornwallis, the men have been brought into such a state of perfection while they were under your eye, that they must unavoidably act with such rapidity, when put in motion, as induces me to flatter myself, that his Lordship's progress in East Jersey, notwithstanding the advanced season, will be considerable. And it is the ground of much satisfaction here to know that your troops had, after the following operations of the campaign, so fair a prospect of extensive and good winter cantonments as that district can afford them.

It was a great mortification to me to be informed, that the army from Canada had thought it right to leave Crown Point unoccupied, and repass the Lake. I trust, however, that my expectations are likely to be gratified, when I presume the army will make more rapid advances the next campaign, and reach Albany sooner than you seem to expect.

Your well digested plan for the operations of the next campaign has been laid before his Majesty, but I must decline, at present, to trouble you with any remarks upon it; for as your next letter (of which I am in daily expectation,) will probably throw new lights upon the subject, his Majesty thinks proper to withhold his royal sentiments thereupon, until he shall have had an opportunity of taking into his consideration the whole state of this momentous affair. When the King has so done, Major Balfour will be immediately dispatched to you with all necessary instructions.

When I first read your requisition of a reinforcement of 15,000 rank and file, I must own to you I was really alarmed, because I could not see the least chance of my being able to supply you with the Hanoverians, or even with the Russians in time. As soon, however, as I found from your returns that your army, if reinforced with 4000 more Germans (which I trust will be procured for you), 800 additional Hessian chassours, and about 1800 recruits for the British, and about 1200 for the Hessian troops under your command, will consist of very nearly
35,000

35,000 rank and file, I was satisfied that you would have an army equal to your wishes, especially when I considered that the enemy must be greatly weakened and depressed by your late successes, and that there was room to hope, that you would not find it difficult to embody what number of Provincials you may think proper, for particular parts of the service; in which expectation, cloth for, 3000 additional suits, and camp equipage for 8000, are ordered, and will be sent to you. And here I must afford you the satisfaction of knowing, that whatever degree of support the rebels may have been taught to expect from foreign powers, I have great reason to believe that Dr. Franklin will not be able to procure them any open assistance.

The artillery have on all occasions behaved well; and as their appearance has hitherto had so desirable effects upon the enemy, I wish it was in my power to procure you another battalion of so useful a corps, but it is not. You may, however, depend upon having as many sent to you as I can get together, with some light six and three-pounders. You will also have such a number of officers sent out to the guards, as will make them complete to the present establishment, independent of those employed on the staff.

It would be impossible to procure for you, in any reasonable time, the 300 horses which you desire; and as the expence of sending them to so great a distance is enormous, and the hazard of their arriving safe very great, it is intended to send you only 100, which is more than will be necessary for completing the establishment of those you already have, as it appears by your returns that you want only 77, and it is hoped that, with such as you may be able to procure in the country, will answer your purpose.

All that I need say to you at present, concerning the ten ships of the line which you solicit, is, that Lord Sandwich will write fully to Lord Howe upon that subject; and as I apprehend you lay so great a stress upon that request, with a view to the demand that you may have for the services of the men in the debarkation, and in otherwise assisting your troops, it gives me pleasure to acquaint you, that I have reason to hope such a force will be sent you, as will be deemed sufficient by yourself and Lord Howe.

I have the satisfaction to inform you, that his Majesty hath been pleased, on your recommendation, to order Doctor Morris to be appointed Inspector of the hospitals.

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germain to General Sir William Howe, dated 14th January 1777.

[Received March 9.]

SIR,

I WAS, on the 30th ultimo, honoured with the receipt of your letter, 30th November, wherein you gave me a continued account of your operations since the departure of Captain (now Major) Balfour, with advice of the reduction of New York.

I was also, at the same time, favoured with your dispatch, dated December 3, 1776, in which were enclosed separate returns of the loss which the army under your command had sustained, from September 17th to November 16th, inclusive, of the prisoners who have been taken during the campaign, and of the ordnance and stores taken in the redoubts and lines of the enemy, from the 10th of October to the 20th of November; all which I have had the honour of laying before the King.

When I consider the length of the period, of which you have given so clear and circumstantial a military history, the dangers, labours, and difficulties, necessarily attending the service in which the troops have been employed, together with the obstacles, which both art and nature opposed to their progress, I cannot sufficiently admire the greatness and rapidity of your successes; the account of which gave his Majesty the more sincere satisfaction, inasmuch as they have been obtained with so inconsiderable a loss on the part of his faithful subjects.

I have it in command from his Majesty to express, in the strongest terms, his royal approbation of the activity, persevering ardour and bravery, which have been so eminently manifested by the troops, both British and foreign.

It would be tedious, and indeed unnecessary, to trouble you with an enumeration of the officers names, with whose conduct the King has been pleased to declare himself to be highly satisfied. You have done ample justice to their respective merits; and every body will naturally conclude, that those who have deserved an honourable mention in the dispatches of a discerning Commander, cannot have failed of being warmly applauded by a just Sovereign.

I must not omit this opportunity of acknowledging the sincere pleasure which your correspondence has been the means of procuring me, during the whole course of the campaign; for, as your dispatches have so constantly contained advice of
some

some important advantage gained by you over the rebels, or the news of some other welcome event, I have unavoidably received infinite satisfaction from the perusal of them, and have, on the other hand, been as unavoidably pleased with the business of answering them, since one part of my task has constantly been to convey to you the strongest assurances of the high estimation in which his Majesty holds your services.

I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAIN.

Copy of a Letter (marked separate) from Lord George Germain to General Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, January 14, 1777.

[Received March 9.]

SIR,

GOVERNOR Browne, who I find is released from his confinement in Connecticut, and is now at New York, acquaints me in his letter of the 16th of November, that he had found means to engage a considerable number of the inhabitants of Connecticut, chiefly emigrants from Europe, to enter into his Majesty's service, upon the promise of receiving bounties in lands upon being discharged at the close of the rebellion; that several had already presented themselves at the rendezvous appointed for them at Long Island, and the measure had met your approbation. Upon this ground, I have judged it proper to acquaint you, in this separate letter, that his Majesty approves of your confirming to such of those volunteers, as you shall think fit to receive into his Majesty's service, the promise made to them by Governor Browne, of such a portion of lands being granted to each of them, at the close of the rebellion, as was granted by his Majesty's proclamation of the 7th of October 1763, to the reduced private soldiers who had served in America.

I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAIN.

Copy of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, dated New York, April 1, 1777.

[Received 8th May 1777.]

MY LORD,

I WAS honoured with your Lordship's different dispatches, dated the 14th January, and duplicates of the 6th of November, with the inclosures by the Halifax packet, which arrived the 9th of March.

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The Mercury packet got in on the 10th of March, after a tedious passage, with the originals of your Lordship's dispatches of the 6th of November, and triplicates of those of the 30th of September and 18th of October; duplicates of which were received the next day by the Thames frigate.

His Majesty's most gracious approbation of my conduct, during the last campaign, and of the behaviour of the troops under my command, both British and foreign, which your Lordship has been pleased to convey in terms so flattering to my wishes, fills my mind with the purest sentiments of gratitude, and has been received by the officers and soldiers with joy, and most dutiful respect.

There has not been any occurrences, since my last, worthy of your Lordship's notice, excepting the success of a detachment of 500 men that I sent up the north river in transports, on the 22d of March, conveyed by the Brune frigate, to destroy a considerable deposit of provisions and stores which the enemy had made at Peek's Kill, near 50 miles distant from New York; Lieutenant-colonel Bird, of the 15th regiment, commanded the party. The rebels stationed there retiring upon his approach, he got easy possession of the post: before their retreat, they set fire to the principal store-houses, and thereby rendered useless the only wharf where it was practicable to embark the remaining stores, in convenient time, which made it expedient to destroy the greater part. This was completely effected, to the amount specified in the inclosed return, and the detachment reembarking without interruption, returned here the 26th.

I have the satisfaction to inform your Lordship, that about 1500 suits of provincial cloathing have already arrived, which being extremely wanted, are very acceptable to them.

Lieutenant-general Earl Percy having applied for leave to return to Europe, his Lordship will proceed in the next packet, and the command at Rhode Island will devolve upon Major-general Prescott.

I am, &c.

WM. HOWE.

Extract of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, dated April 2, 1777. (Marked secret.)
[Received 8th May 1777.]

OBSERVING by your Lordship's dispatches, the small reinforcement intended for this army for the ensuing campaign, compared with my requisitions for executing the plan I had the honour of submitting to your Lordship, in my letters upon

upon that subject, I beg leave to press the additional strength of the corps of dismounted dragoons, solicited by Lieutenant colonel White, of the corps of chasseurs, proposed to be raised by Captain Emerick, and of the six additional companies of the 42d and 71st regiments.

Had it been expedient to have sent the number of dragoon horses I requested, we should have found great utility from them, not only for the essential service of patrolling, but in opposition to a large corps of cavalry raising by the enemy.

Your Lordship having been pleased to inform me I must not expect an additional battalion of artillery, in which I confess my disappointment, from a thorough conviction of the great service such a reinforcement would be to this army, I am constrained to supply the deficiency by an endeavour to raise 300 men from the Provincials to do duty with the artillery, to be paid and clothed in the same manner as those established, and have given directions accordingly to Brigadier-general Cleaveland, that no time may be lost in completing them, which I hope will receive his Majesty's approbation.

In these circumstances, I find myself under the necessity of relinquishing a principal part of the plan before proposed, for an offensive corps on the side of Rhode Island, &c. and to adopt one on a smaller scale, which the inclosed distribution points out.

From the difficulties and delay that would attend the passage of the river Delaware, by a march through Jersey, I propose to invade Pennsylvania by sea; and from this arrangement we must probably abandon the Jerseys, which by the former plan would not have been the case. On the contrary, the enemy's western and principal army would have been between the two corps destined for this service, and we should then have had the communication open for the Seneca Indians to have joined us.

The Provincial troops I propose to employ under Governor Tryon's command, upon the Hudson's river, or to enter Connecticut, as circumstances may point out.

In the former campaign, the force was suitable to the operation; whereas in the ensuing one, from the several posts necessarily to be preserved, the offensive army will be too weak for rapid success, though I shall hope for the arrival of reinforcements in time to strengthen this as well as the other corps; but I fear they will not be sufficient to cause any material alteration in the plan now proposed.

From these considerations, and the delays which may attend the evacuation of the Jerseys, from the vicinity of the

enemy's principal force, it is probable the campaign will not commence so soon as your Lordship may expect; though we should not undertake any thing offensive in that quarter, which I mean to avoid, unless some very advantageous opening should offer. But your Lordship may be assured, the operations will be forwarded as expeditiously as the nature of the service will admit; and, in the mean while, I shall anxiously wait his Majesty's commands by Major Balfour.

I have reason to expect, in case of success in Pennsylvania, there will be found a considerable part of the inhabitants who may be embodied as militia, and some as provincial troops, for the interior defence of the province, which must be a great aid in the further progress of the war.

My expectations of a move in the winter against the enemy in Jersey, upon the arrival of the troops from Rhode Island, as mentioned in a former letter, have been frustrated by a deep fall of snow, which rendered the country impassable, and since the breaking up of winter, the depth of roads forced me to relinquish the idea.

Restricted as I am from entering upon more extensive operations by the want of forces, my hopes of terminating the war this year are vanished; still I think it probable, that by the latter end of the campaign, we shall be in possession of the provinces of New York, the Jerseys, and Pennsylvania, though this, in some measure, must depend upon the successes of the northern army; for, notwithstanding it is my opinion the rebels will not be able to raise their army voted last autumn, yet they will have a numerous militia in the field, in addition to their standing force, with a tolerable train of artillery.

However, as these operations have, from success, become more various and extensive, and of course require, in the execution, a considerable assistance of seamen, which the Admiral cannot assure me he shall be able to furnish, without an additional number of ships of force, I anxiously hope, from your Lordship's assurances, we shall not be disappointed in our expectations of an aid so essential, and that they are now upon their way to join us. I fear the enemy means to keep back the British and Hessian prisoners in their possession, contrary to agreement.

Your Lordship will receive inclosed a copy of my letter to Sir Guy Carleton, which goes in a few days by a frigate conveying Sir John Johnston, Lieutenant-colonel M'Lean, and several officers, both British and Canadian, lately returned from their captivity, together with a few recruits for the several corps in Canada; and I send this letter, that I may have the honour of his Majesty's commands upon it in time, if the contents should not meet with the royal approbation.

Copy

*Copy of a Letter from General Sir William Howe to General Sir Guy Carleton, dated New York, 5th April 1777.
[In Sir William Howe's of 2d April 1777.]*

SIR,

HAVING but little expectation that I shall be able, from the want of sufficient strength in this army, to detach a corps in the beginning of the campaign to act up Hudson's River, consistent with the operations already determined upon, the force your Excellency may deem expedient to advance beyond your frontiers after taking Ticonderoga, will, I fear, have little assistance from hence to facilitate their approach: and as I shall probably be in Pennsylvania when that corps is ready to advance into this province, it will not be in my power to communicate with the officer commanding it so soon as I could wish; he must therefore pursue such measures as may from circumstances be judged most conducive to the advancement of his Majesty's service, consistently with your Excellency's orders for his conduct.

The possession of Ticonderoga will naturally be the first object; and, without presuming to point out to your Excellency the advantages that must arise by securing Albany and the adjacent country, I conclude they will engage the next attention; but omitting others, give me leave to suggest that this situation will open a free intercourse with the Indians, without which we are to expect little assistance from them on this side.

The further progress of this corps, depending so much upon the enemy's movements, cannot be foreseen at this distance of time, still I flatter myself, and have reason to expect, the friends of government in that part of the country will be found so numerous, and so ready to give every aid and assistance in their power, that it will prove no difficult task to reduce the more rebellious parts of the province. In the mean while I shall endeavour to have a corps upon the lower part of Hudson's River sufficient to open the communication for shipping through the Highlands, at present obstructed by several forts erected by the rebels for that purpose, which corps may afterwards act in favour of the northern army.

Major Edmeston of 48th regiment, having been long detained a prisoner at Albany, and having procured leave to come here to negotiate his exchange, I have sent him back with directions to inform Mr. Schuyler, that if he permits

him to go to Canada, I shall release a Major in exchange. He has information of too delicate a nature to commit to paper, and of the utmost importance in favour of the northern army advancing to Albany, which I trust he will find some means of communicating, even though he should not obtain leave to go to Canada in person.

I beg your Excellency may be pleased to favour me with the earliest intelligence of your movements, and flatter myself some method will be found of conveying it immediately to New York.

With my most earnest wishes for your health and success,
I am, &c. W^M. HOWE.

Distribution of His Majesty's troops, British and Foreign, for the Campaign 1777.

[In Sir Wm. Howe's (*secret*) of 2d April.]

Pensylvania	- - - - -	11,000
Town of York and Island	- - - - -	3,200
Paulus Hook	- - - - -	300
Staten Island	- - - - -	1,200
Rhode Island	- - - - -	2,400
		<hr/>
		18,100

N. B. Prisoners with the rebels, sick artillery and cavalry not included.

Also a corps of Provincials, consisting of 3000 effectives, under the command of his Excellency Governor Tryon.

Extract of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, dated New York, the 4th of April 1777.

[Received 8th May.]

BY the arrival of Captain Mulcaster a few days past from Pensacola, I did not find any material change in the state of the Indian affairs in that Province since my last dispatches on this subject. It seems they are ready to assist in repelling any invasion, or even to march into the enemy's country when called upon. The superintendant's last letter, and the inclosures, will furnish your Lordship with the latest intelligence I have received,

Captain

Captain Mulcaster being a very intelligent officer, I wrote some time past to invite him to this army, not only to consult with him relative to the affairs of the Province of Florida, but to have his assistance here.

He is confident in the utility of a General Officer being sent to Pensacola, and from the reasons he gives, I propose sending one from hence by the earliest opportunity, and to appoint Colonel Prevost Brigadier General, in consequence of your Lordship's letter of the 14th of January.

Captain Mulcaster having informed me that the Rebels have armed cruisers between Jamaica and Pensacola, purposely to intercept the supplies sent from Europe to that garrison, I have wrote to the Admiral commanding upon that station, to request his attention to the safe conduct of those ships, as the loss of even one of them might be attended with infinite bad consequences.

Copy of a Letter from General Sir William Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated at New York, the 24th of April.
[Received June 6.]

THOUGH no material occurrence has passed since the departure of the Le Despencer Packet on the 11th instant; yet, being desirous your Lordship should early receive the duplicates of my last dispatches, in case of an accident happening to the originals, I send them by the Mercury Packet, with orders to stop at Rhode-Island for Lord Percy, which will cause very little delay to her passage.

Lord Cornwallis, ever watchful to take advantage of the enemy's situation, surprised and defeated, on the 13th inst. at break of day, a corps of the Rebels at Bound Brook, killed 30, and took between 80 and 90 prisoners, including officers, with three brass field pieces. The General Officer commanding there very narrowly escaped being of the number. The loss on our part was only three yagers, and four soldiers of the light infantry slighted wounded.

A detached corps of troops, consisting of 1800 rank and file, having embarked in transports, proceeded from hence yesterday, with six field pieces, under the command of Governor Tryon, who has accepted of the rank of Major-General of Provincials. The design is to destroy a large magazine of provisions and military stores formed by the enemy at Danbury, in Connecticut. Brigadier-General Agnew and

Sir William Erskine are upon this service, the naval part of which is under the conduct of Captain Duncan, commander of his Majesty's ship *Eagle*. It is supposed that the debarkation should be made at or near Norwalk, which is 20 miles to the Southward of Danbury; and I hope to have the honour of reporting to your Lordship the success of this expedition in my next dispatch.

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germaine, to General Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, the 3d of March 1777.
[Received May 8.]

SIR,

PREVIOUS to the arrival of your letter of the 20th of December 1776, I had the satisfaction of receiving a dispatch from Lieutenant General Clinton, dated Rhode Island, December the 9th, wherein he informed me of his having acquired possession of that place, without any loss to his Majesty's troops.

Having in my answer to your separate letter of November the 30th 1776, acknowledged the importance of the object, and most heartily approved of your sending an expedition thither, you will conclude I was extremely happy to hear that an undertaking so agreeable to my wishes had met with success answerable to my expectations.

I read with much pleasure your commendations of Lord Cornwallis's services during the campaign. And I am to acquaint you that the King very much applauds the ability and conduct which his Lordship displayed in the close pursuit of the enemy from Fort Lee to Trentown, and has also condescended to express his royal approbation of the exemplary ardour which was manifested on the march by the corps under his Lordship's command.

It will give his Lordship additional satisfaction, when he reflects that he has, by his bravery and the rapidity of his motions, not only secured a great quantity of provisions and forage for the use of his Majesty's troops, but has been the happy instrument of saving so large a tract of country from the destruction that threatened it.

The behaviour of Lieutenant Colonel Harcourt, in taking General Lee, has done him infinite honour; and could not (as you justly observe) escape his Majesty's attention. I have it consequently in express command to signify, through you,
his

his royal approbation, as well of the readiness with which the Colonel undertook the command of the detachment, as of the address and gallantry which he manifested on that critical occasion.

Every officer who distinguishes himself, and is the means of advancing the glory of his Majesty's arms, may be certain that his services will not pass unnoticed by his gracious master. The King has accordingly approved, in the highest terms, of the conduct of Sir William Erskine, and Major Maitland, whom you represent as having greatly contributed to the successes of the campaign.

I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAINE.

P. S. I send you herewith inclosed copy of the late convention with the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, of a treaty with the Margrave of Brandenburg Anspach, and of the ulterior convention with Hanau.

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germaine to General Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, 3d of March 1777.

[Received May 8.]

SIR,

YOUR letters of the 29th of December, and 5th of January last, have been laid before the King; and as they bear a reference to each other, I shall answer them together.

The disagreeable occurrence at Trenton is, I must own, extremely mortifying; and it gives me real concern that your successes should suffer an interruption, or have their brilliancy in the least tarnished at the close of your campaign, especially as I fear with you, that even this affair may elate the enemy, and encourage them, notwithstanding the pardon held out to them, to persevere in their rebellion.

I will make no other observation on this unfortunate event, than merely to express my hope that the other detached corps of your army will be impressed with a conviction of the strong necessity of regulating their ardour by discretion, and never think so meanly of their enemies as to permit themselves to be off their guard; though the military conduct of the rebels has been such as must infallibly make them appear contemptible in the eyes of a soldier. They ought, however, by no means to be held too cheap; for as the same effects are often produced by dissimilar causes, that very pusillanimity which prevents them from facing you in the open field, may occasionally operate like courage itself, and instigate them to seek opportunities of attacking by surprise.

His

His Majesty has been pleased to take very particular notice of the bravery and conduct of Lieutenant Colonel Mawhood, and approves the behaviour of the regiments under his command, especially the 17th, so highly commended by Lord Cornwallis.

The treatment which Captain Phillips met with from the rebels, is truly shocking, and justice demands some exemplary punishment upon men who can so shamefully disobey the dictates of humanity.

And here I must observe, that if that imprudent people, in contempt of the gracious offers contained in the late proclamation, shall persist in overt acts of rebellion, they will so far aggravate their guilt as to become altogether unworthy of any further instances of his Majesty's compassion; and as they who insolently refuse to accept the mercy of their Sovereign, cannot, in the eye of impartial reason, have the least room to expect clemency at the hand of his subjects, I fear that you and Lord Howe will find it necessary to adopt such modes of carrying on the war, that the rebels may be effectually distressed, so that through a lively experience of losses and sufferings, they may be brought as soon as possible to a proper sense of their duty, and in the mean time may be intimidated from oppressing and injuring his Majesty's loyal subjects.

I am, &c. GEO. GERMAINE.

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germaine to General Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, 3d of March 1777.

[Received May 8.]

IN my dispatch of the 14th of January, transmitted to you by the packet, you were informed that his Majesty thought proper to defer sending you his sentiments on your plan for the next campaign, until he was enabled to take the whole into his royal consideration.

I am now commanded to acquaint you, that the King entirely approves of your proposed deviation from the plan which you formerly suggested, being of opinion that the reasons which have induced you to recommend this change in your operations are solid and decisive.

But I must inform you, that his Majesty is also of opinion, that a warm diversion upon the coasts of the Massachusetts Bay, and New Hampshire, would not only impede the levies for the continental army, but tend much to the security of our trade; and indeed it scarcely admits a doubt but that these
benefits

benefits must inevitably result from such an arrangement ; for as on one hand it is scarcely to be expected that those provinces will part with men, when their presence must be wanted for the internal defence of their own respective districts ; so on the other a salutary check will unavoidably be put to the successes of the rebel privateers, when we have destroyed or taken possession of their ports.

It is therefore the King's pleasure that Lord Howe and you take this matter into your serious consideration, so far as your intended plan will admit.

You may perhaps not think it wrong to employ on this service some of the Provincial troops, in conjunction with others, together with a proper number of ships.

Here I cannot help expressing the very great concern I feel for the loss you have had in the Hessians, and for the disappointment you will have in the 3000 Germans mentioned in my letter of the 14th of January ; for I begin to fear it will not be possible to send you more new forces than about 820 Hessian chasseurs, ditto Hanau about 400 ; two regiments of Anspach infantry, consisting of about 1280, and four companies of Highlanders, amounting to about 400.

As the Earl of Suffolk has been very earnest in his application to the court of Hesse, respecting the recruits for the regiments of that country, and has repeatedly requested that they may be made as complete as possible, I flatter myself they will be duly furnished in proper time, and that they (together with the others) will be ready to sail for New York as soon as the season will permit.

You will have received directions through the Secretary at War, relative to the 7th and 26th regiments. I cannot, however, omit this opportunity of expressing my earnest wishes, that you may have paid them the compliment which they so justly deserve, and have determined to keep them as entire corps, especially as their firmness and attachment to their country have been particularly taken notice of by his Majesty, and which you will be pleased to let them have the satisfaction of knowing.

The behaviour of Courtland Skinner, Esq. is very meritorious. The instances which he has already given of his attachment to government, make me to conclude that he will readily continue his good services ; and trust, that whenever tranquillity shall be restored he will be honoured with an early mark of the royal approbation and favour.

I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAINE.

P. S.

P. S. When I was closing my dispatches, Major Dundas, who arrived in the New-York Packet, brought me your letter of the 17th of January. I am happy to find by your correspondence with Mr. Stuart, and the southern governors, that your ideas of operations in that quarter correspond so entirely with mine, as you will have perceived by the copies of my letters to Mr. Stuart, which were sent you by a former conveyance, and that which I now enclose.

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germaine to Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, 5th of March 1777.

[Received May 8.]

SIR,

I HAVE not failed to recommend to the King the measure which you propose in your private letter to me, of employing some of the Hessian officers as brigadiers, and have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that his Majesty approves of your employing such of those officers, as brigadiers, as you shall think necessary for the service.

The inclosed list of prisoners taken by the rebels in Virginia, has been delivered to me by the Earl of Dunmore, and his Lordship represents their situation to be very distressing; some of them confined in gaols, and loaded with irons: as they all have commissions from his Lordship, and have served under his command, I cannot suppose any difficulty will occur in exchanging them for rebel officers of the like rank; and it is much wished that you may be able to obtain their release the first opportunity that offers for an exchange of prisoners. There are two others whose release his Lordship is very anxious for, Col. Allan Mac Donald and his son, taken prisoners in the unfortunate affairs of the Cross Creeks in North Carolina, and now confined at Reading in Pennsylvania; their merit undoubtedly entitles them to a preference to most others, and I hope you will soon be able to effect their exchange. I must add to the list of meritorious prisoners, Mr. Sprowle, son of the late Mr. Sprowle, of Gosport, in Virginia: the family have been very great sufferers for their loyalty, and has had their very large property entirely destroyed by the rebels on that account. It is not certainly known where the young man is confined, but it will give me great pleasure when you discover him, and obtain his release, if you can employ him in any situation he is fit for that will afford him the means of a comfortable support.

I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAINE.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germaine to Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, 17th March 1777.

[Received May 8th.]

SIR,

I HAVE had the honour to lay before the King the inclosed memorial of Governor Legge, respecting the Nova-Scotia regiment of volunteers; and, as the entire disposal of that corps is committed to you, his Majesty commands me to send you the memorial, that if, upon inquiry, you shall find the officers or men suffer any hardships from which they ought to be relieved, you will give the necessary orders for that purpose.

I am, &c. GEO. GERMAINE.

Copy of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated New-York, 22d May 1777.

[Received 24th June.]

MY LORD,

YOUR Lordship's dispatches, by Major Balfour in the *Augusta*, arrived on the 8th instant; but as the present conveyance is by a private merchant ship, I shall defer answering them particularly until the sailing of the packet, which will be in a short time.

In my letter of the 24th April (No. 51), I mentioned an embarkation of troops, detached under the command of Major-General Tryon, for the destruction of one of the enemy's magazines of provisions and stores, collected at Danbury, in Connecticut. I have now the honour of reporting to your Lordship the success of that expedition, and to inclose a return of the stores destroyed.

The troops landed without opposition in the afternoon of the 25th April, about four miles to the eastward of Norwalk, and twenty from Danbury.

In the afternoon of the 26th the detachment reached Danbury, meeting only small parties of the enemy on the march; but General Tryon having intelligence that the whole force of the country was collecting to take every advantage of the strong ground he was to pass on his return to the shipping, and finding it impossible to procure carriages to bring off any part of the stores, they were effectually destroyed; in the execution of which the village was unavoidably burnt.

On

On the 27th in the morning the troops quitted Danbury, and met with little opposition until they came near to Ridgefield, which was occupied by General Arnold, who had thrown up entrenchments to dispute the passage, while General Wooster hung upon the rear with a separate corps. The village was forced, and the enemy drove back on all sides.

General Tryon lay that night at Ridgefield, and renewed his march on the morning of the 28th. The enemy having been reinforced with troops and cannon, disputed every advantageous situation, keeping at the same time smaller parties to harrafs the rear, until the General had formed his detachment upon a height within cannon-shot of the shipping; when the enemy advancing seemingly with an intention to attack him, he ordered the troops to charge with their bayonets, which was executed with such impetuosity that the rebels were totally put to flight, and the detachment embarked without further molestation.

The inclosed return sets forth the loss sustained by the King's troops, and that of the enemy, from the best information; but I have the satisfaction to inform your Lordship our wounded officers are in the fairest way of recovery.

The enemy's army in Jersey has been encamped some days near to Bound Brook. Lord Cornwallis is also encamped at Brunswick, on each side of the Rariton, and upon the communication between that place and Amboy; Major-General Vaughan's corps being encamped at the latter place, making use of the tents of last year, the camp equipage of the present not being yet arrived. His Lordship has also thrown a bridge over the Rariton at the town of Brunswick.

By various accounts received from the neighbourhood of Albany, there is reason to believe some advanced parties from the northern army have appeared at Crown Point, and that Sir Guy Carleton will be upon the lake early in June.

The inclosed is a list of the French subjects taken at sea, supposed to the coming to this country to serve with the rebels, and who, upon my application, are sent home by the Admiral in the Success.

I am, &c.

W. Howe.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from General Sir William Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated at New-York, the 3d of June 1777.

[Received July 10th.]

YOUR Lordship's Numbers 3, 4, and 5, of the 3d of March, and No. 6, of the 5th following, I had the honour to receive by Major Balfour, on the arrival of his Majesty's ship *Augusta*, the 8th of May; the duplicates of which have arrived by the *Sandwich* packet. The earliest opportunity was taken of signifying his Majesty's most gracious approbation of the behaviour of the officers whose names are particularized by your Lordship.

The arrival of the camp equipage on the 24th of May, both for the army and provincials, has relieved me from much anxiety, being articles greatly wanted for the opening of the campaign, which will now immediately take place in *Jersey*, where the enemy's principal strength still remains; and I shall proceed, as occurrences may arise, according to the plan made known to your Lordship in my former dispatches.

The remount horses, for the 16th and 17th dragoons, are arrived in good order, with the loss of ten horses on the passage. The officers of the guards, and British recruits, also arrived on the 24th of May; the *Anspach* troops, 432 German recruits, and 51 German *chasseurs*, on the 3d instant, conveyed by the *Somerfet*. These troops appear to be in very good health, and have disembarked upon *Staten Island*, to refresh for a short time.

I have the pleasure to inform your Lordship of the arrival of Major-General Gray in the *Somerfet*.

Major Dixon, of the corps of engineers, who has his Majesty's leave to return to Britain, will have the honour of delivering my dispatches to your Lordship, by the *Halifax* packet; and I presume upon the acknowledged abilities of this gentleman, and his thorough knowledge of the situation of the country, to justify me in referring your Lordship to him, for the most particular, as well as general information.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated New York, 5th June 1777.

[Received 10th July.]

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to acknowledge the receipt of a copy of your Lordship's letter, of the 7th of February last, to John Stuart, Esq. of which I have forwarded a copy, lest the original should miscarry. The mode established for defraying the expences of his departure, must certainly give him every satisfaction; and your Lordship's observations on the most essential services to be drawn from Indian allies, and the manner in which they should be conducted, evince your Lordship's great judgement and attention to the most minute circumstances relative to America.

The inclosed letters and extracts from St. Augustine, with my answers, and last letter to John Stewart, Esq. accompanied by what is called a Talk to the southern Indians, will give your Lordship every information. I have to communicate, relative to East and West Florida, the great reason I have to be well assured of the good inclinations of those Indians; and the prudent conduct of the superintendant makes me conclude, that the Floridas will be protected; and though I can conceive the borders of the eastern province may be a little harassed, I cannot but suppose the colony in general is in safety.

The reason of my drawing the part of the 14th regiment from St. Augustine is, that they may be draughted; and the same step is taken with regard to the companies at Halifax; those who were here being already sent to Britain.

I am, &c.

W. HOWE.

Extract of a Letter from Lord George Germaine to Sir Guy Carleton, dated Whitehall, 26th March 1777.

[Received June 5th.]

SIR,

MY letter of the 22d of August 1776 was entrusted to the care of Captain Le Maitre, one of your Aid de Camps. After having been three times in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, he had the mortification to find it impossible to make his passage

passage to Quebec, and therefore returned to England with my dispatch; which, though it was prevented by that accident from reaching your hands in due time, I nevertheless think proper to transmit it to you by this the earliest opportunity.

You will be informed, by the contents thereof, that as soon as you should have driven the rebel forces from the frontiers of Canada, it was his Majesty's pleasure that you should return to Quebec, and take with you such part of your army, as, in your judgment and discretion, appeared sufficient for the defence of the province: that you should detach Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, or such other officers as you should think most proper, with the remainder of the troops, and direct the officer so detached to proceed with all possible expedition to join General Howe, and to put himself under his command.

With a view of quelling the rebellion as soon as possible, it is become highly necessary that the most speedy junction of the two armies should be effected; and therefore, as the security and good government of Canada absolutely require your presence there, it is the King's determination to leave about 3000 men under your command for the defence and duties of that province, and to employ the remainder of your army upon two expeditions—the one under the command of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, who is to force his way to Albany; and the other under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger, who is to make a diversion on the Mohawk river.

As this plan cannot be advantageously executed without the assistance of Canadians and Indians, his Majesty strongly recommends it to your care to furnish both expeditions with good and sufficient bodies of those men; and I am happy in knowing that your influence amongst them is so great, that there can be no room to apprehend you will find it difficult to fulfil his Majesty's expectations.

In order that no time may be lost in entering upon these important undertakings, General Burgoyne has received orders to sail forthwith for Quebec; and that the intended operations may be maturely considered, and afterwards carried on in such a manner as is most likely to be followed with success, he is directed to consult with you upon the subject, and to form and adjust the plan, as you both shall think most conducive to his Majesty's service.

I am also to acquaint you, that, as soon as you shall have fully regulated every thing relative to these expeditions, (and the King relies upon your zeal that you will be as expeditious as the nature of the business will admit), it is his Majesty's pleasure that you do detain for the Canada service,

The 8th regiment, deducting 100 for the expedition to the Mohawk	460
Battalion companies of the 29th and 31st regiments	896
Battalion companies of the 34th, deducting 100 for expedition to the Mohawk	348
Eleven additional companies from Great Britain	616
Detachments from the two brigades	300
Detachments from the German troops	650
Royal Highland emigrants	500

3770

You will naturally conclude that this allotment for Canada has not been made without properly weighing the several duties which are likely to be required. His Majesty has not only considered the several garrisons and posts which probably it may be necessary for you to take, viz. Quebec, Chaudiere, the disaffected parishes of Point Levi, Montreal, and posts between that town and Oswegatchie, Trois Rivières, St. John's, Isle aux Noix, La Prairie Vergère, and some other towns upon the south shore of St. Lawrence, opposite the isle of Montreal, with posts of communication to St. John's; but he hath also reflected, that the several operations which will be carrying on in the different parts of America, must necessarily confine the attention of the rebels to the respective scenes of action, and secure Canada from external attacks, and that the internal quiet which at present prevails, is not likely to be interrupted, or, if interrupted, will soon be restored by your influence over the inhabitants: he therefore trusts that 3000 men will be quite sufficient to answer every possible demand.

It is likewise his Majesty's pleasure, that you put under the command of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne,

The

The grenadiers and light infantry of the army (except of the 8th regiment) and the 24th regi- ment as the advanced corps under the command of Brigadier-General Frazer	1568
1st brigade, battalion companies of the 9th, 21st, and 47th regiments, deducting a detachment of 50 from each corps, to remain in Canada	1194
2d brigade, battalion companies of the 20th, 53d and 62d regiments, deducting 50 from each corps to remain in Canada	1194
All the German troops, except Hanau chasseurs, and a detachment of 650	3217
The artillery, except such parts as shall be necessary for the defence of Canada	—

7173

Together with as many Canadians and Indians as may be thought necessary for this service ; and after having furnished him in the fullest and completest manner with artillery, stores, provisions, and every other article necessary for his expedition, and secured to him every assistance which it is in your power to afford and procure, you are to give him orders to pass Lake Champlain, and from thence, by the most vigorous exertion of the force under his command, to proceed with all expedition to Albany, and put himself under the command of Sir William Howe

From the King's knowledge of the great preparations made by you last year to secure the command of the lakes, and your attention to this part of the service during the winter, his Majesty is led to expect, that every thing will be ready for General Burgoyne's passing the lake by the time you and he shall have adjusted the plan of the expedition.

It is the King's further pleasure, that you put under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger,

Detachment from the 8th regiment	100
Ditto from the 34th	100
Sir J. Johnson's regiment of New York	133
Hanau Chasseurs	342

675

Together with a sufficient number of Canadians and Indians ; and after having furnished him with proper artillery, stores, provisions, and every other necessary article for his

expedition, and secured to him every assistance in your power to afford and procure, you are to give him orders to proceed forthwith to, and down the Mohawk river, to Albany, and put himself under the command of Sir William Howe.

I shall write to Sir William Howe from hence by the first packet; but you will nevertheless endeavour to give him the earliest intelligence of this measure, and also direct Lieutenant-General Burgoyne and Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger to neglect no opportunity of doing the same, that they may receive instructions from Sir William Howe. You will at the same time inform them, that until they shall have received orders from Sir William Howe, it is his Majesty's pleasure that they act as exigencies may require, and in such manner as they shall judge most proper for making an impression on the rebels, and bringing them to obedience; but that in so doing they must never lose view of their intended junctions with Sir William Howe as their principal object.

In case Lieutenant-General Burgoyne or Lieutenant-Colonel St. Leger should happen to die, or be rendered, through illness, incapable of executing these great trusts, you are to nominate to the respective commands such officer or officers as you shall think to be best qualified to supply the place of those whom his Majesty has, in his wisdom, at present appointed to conduct those expeditions.

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germain to General Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, 19th April 1777:

[Received June 5th.]

SIR,

I HAD the honour of laying before the King your letter of December 21st, 1776.

The measure which you therein recommend has been taken into consideration; and I am commanded to inform you, that the execution of Captain Emerick's project was found likely to be attended by so many difficulties, that his Majesty has not thought proper to give him directions for raising a corps of German Chasseurs. I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAIN.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germain to Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, 19th April 1777.
[Received 5th July.]

SIR,

THE troops have been so very much harassed in the course of the last campaign, that I could not but wish that no manœuvres of the enemy might hinder them from enjoying that repose in their winter quarters which their late fatigues rendered necessary, and their services entitled them to expect. I was therefore extremely sorry to find, by your letters of January 17th and February the 12th past, that their quiet and comfort had been in any degree interrupted; and it gives me additional concern to think, that there is a prospect of their experiencing but little intermission of toil and danger before the opening of the next campaign. I cannot, however, help flattering myself, that these winter-efforts of the rebels are rather the effects of despair than of courage; and that they are symptoms of weakness, not marks of strength.

His Majesty was well pleased with your correspondence with Mr. Stuart. You will find by my dispatch to Sir Guy Carleton (a copy of which was transmitted to you by the last packet), that he had orders to furnish a sufficient body of Indians for the expedition under Lieutenant-General Burgoyne. And I am now to acquaint you, it is the King's pleasure, that you make use of the friendly Indians in such a manner as may be most serviceable in the prosecution of the war.

The provinces of East and West Florida are indeed too distant for you to have had it in your power to give more pointed directions; and a great deal must unavoidably be left to the zeal and judgment of those who are upon the spot.

As to putting the military in each province under the command of a general officer, though the King thinks your proposition in general to be right, yet, as there are at present only two governors resident in the southern colonies, and as both of them happen to be military men, of experience and good abilities, his Majesty does not see the immediate necessity of adopting that measure; if, however, you should still continue of opinion, that the step you recommend is absolutely necessary for the promotion of his Majesty's service, you are at liberty to give proper directions on that head.

The King is particularly pleased with the tender of services

which has been made by Governor Tryon; and approves of your placing a corps of Provincials under his Excellency's command.

I have had a great deal of conversation with Major-General Robertson; and as he is an officer of great experience and merit, and one whose continuance in America was particularly desired by you, his Majesty has been pleased to order him to return thither, and continue to act under you as Major-General.

It has been the occasion of great concern to me, that I have not been able to gratify your wishes to the utmost, and send you greater reinforcements. And I am now to acquaint you, that the destination of the corps of Hanau Chasseurs, mentioned in my letter of the 3d March, is intended to make part of the detachment ordered down the Mohawk River to Albany, and join your army.

Before this reaches you, I trust that Colonel Grey (appointed as Major-General) will have arrived with the Somerset; and also the Anspach, and other troops, which sailed under the convoy of that ship of war.

His Majesty, upon being informed that Sir Guy Carleton had appointed four lieutenant-colonels, viz. Lieutenant-Colonel Nesbet of the 47th regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Fraser of the 24th, Lieutenant-Colonel Powell of the 53d regiment, and Lieutenant-Colonel Gordon of the 29th, to act as brigadier-generals, was pleased to order me to signify to Sir Guy Carleton, that those officers might continue to act as brigadiers, until part of that army should be ordered to join the troops under your command; and that then their rank of brigadiers must cease, in order to prevent the impropriety of their having higher rank and pay than several of the lieutenant-colonels who are their seniors in your army.

This command was executed in August last; and the King finding, that it would be very inconvenient to send out junior Captains of the Guards, his Majesty hath not been pleased to comply with your request on this head.

The French prisoners whom you sent to Britain, under the care of Captain J. S. Patton, of the 6th regiment, are arrived; and are to be kept as such on board one of our men of war, until proper prisons, now preparing, are made fit for their reception and safe custody.

Lieutenant-General Clinton has been honoured by his Majesty with a red ribband, and will set out forthwith for America.

As General De Heister is directed to return to Europe, you will, I am persuaded, furnish him with the earliest and best conveyance you can. I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAINE.

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germaine, to Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, 28th April 1777.

[Received 5th July.]

SIR,

Lieutenant-General Earl Percy having desired permission to return to England, I have the honour to inform you it is the King's pleasure that you give him leave; but I am ordered at the same time to acquaint you, that his Majesty wishes he may not lose his Lordship's services during the campaign. I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAINE.

Copy of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated New-York, 5th July 1777. (Separate)

[Received 22d August.]

MY LORD,

I HAD the honour to receive by the Somerfet, transmitted by Mr. D'Oyly, copies of your Lordship's letters to Sir Guy Carleton, of 26th March, and John Stuart, Esq. of 2d April; together with the several states of the Anspach corps, detachment of artillery, chaffeurs, &c.

By the Swallow packet I received your Lordship's letter of 17th March, inclosing a memorial from Governor Legge, respecting the loyal Nova-Scotia volunteers. I do not find that the companies of this corps now on foot can be kept complete; and, in every respect, they are on the same terms with other Provincials.

I have been also honoured with your Lordship's dispatches, No. 7, 8, and 9, by the Liverpool, and letter of 27th April, signifying his Majesty's pleasure, that Lord Percy should return to Britain, if his Lordship continued desirous of leaving America.

To the contents of these letters I shall pay due regard by this opportunity; and have the honour to be, with the most perfect respect, your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

W. HOWE.

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Copy

Copy of a Letter from the Honourable General Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, dated New York, July 5th, 1777.

[Received 22d August.]

MY LORD,

HAVING established a corps sufficient for the defence of Amboy, the army assembled at Brunswick on the 12th of June.

The enemy's principal force being encamped upon the mountain above Quibble-town, with a corps of 2000 men at Prince-town, it was thought adviseable to make a movement in two columns from Brunswick on the 14th in the morning, leaving Brigadier-General Mathew with 2000 men to guard that post. The first division, under the command of Lord Cornwallis, advanced to Hillsborough, and the second to Middle Bush, under the command of Lieutenant-General De Heister, with a view of drawing on an action, if the enemy should remove from the mountain towards the Delaware; but, on finding their intention to keep a position which it would not have been prudent to attack, I determined, without loss of time, to pursue the principal objects of the campaign, by withdrawing the army from Jersey; and, in consequence of this determination, returned to the camp at Brunswick on the 19th, and marched from thence to Amboy on the 22d, intending to cross to Staten-Island, from whence the embarkation was to take place.

Upon quitting the camp at Brunswick, the enemy brought a few troops forward, with two or three pieces of cannon, which they fired at the utmost range, without the least execution, or any return from us: they also pushed some battalions into the woods, to harass the rear where Lord Cornwallis commanded, who soon dispersed them, with the loss of only two men killed, and thirteen wounded; the enemy having nine killed, and about thirty wounded.

The necessary preparations being finished for crossing the troops to Staten-Island, intelligence was received that the enemy had moved down from the mountain, and taken post at Quibble-town, intending, as it was given out, to attack the rear of the army removing from Amboy; that two corps had also advanced to their left—one of 3000 men, and eight pieces of cannon, under the command of Lord Stirling, Generals Maxwell and Conway; the last said to be a Captain
in

in the French service—the other corps consisted of about 700 men, with only one piece of cannon.

In this situation of the enemy, it was judged advisable to make a movement that might lead on to an attack, which was done the 26th in the morning, in two columns; the right, under the command of Lord Cornwallis, with Major-General Grant, Brigadiers Matthew and Leslie, and Colonel Donop, took the route by Woodbridge towards Scotch Plains; the left column where I was, with Major-Generals Sterne, Vaughan, and Grey, Brigadiers Cleveland and Agnew, marched by Metuchin Meeting-house, to join the rear of the right column in the road from thence to Scotch Plains, intending to have taken separate routes about two miles after the junction, in order to have attacked the left flank at Quibble-town. Four battalions were detached in the morning, with six pieces of cannon, to take post at Bonham-town.

The right column, having fallen in with the afore-mentioned corps of 700 men, soon after passing Woodbridge, gave the alarm, by the firing that ensued, to their main army at Quibble-town, which retired to the mountain with the utmost precipitation. The small corps was closely pushed by the light troops, and with difficulty got off their pieces of cannon.

Lord Cornwallis, soon after he was upon the road leading to Scotch Plains from Metuchin Meeting-house, came up with the corps commanded by Lord Stirling, who he found advantageously posted in a country much covered with wood, and his artillery well disposed. The King's troops, vying with each other upon this occasion, pressed forward to such close action, that the enemy, though inclined to resist, could not long maintain their ground against so great impetuosity, but were dispersed on all sides, leaving behind three pieces of brass ordnance, three Captains and 60 men killed, and upwards of 200 officers and men wounded and taken.

His Lordship had five men killed, and 30 wounded. Captain Finch, of the light company of the guards, was the only officer who suffered; and, to my great concern, the wound he received proving mortal, he died the 29th of June at Amboy.

The troops engaged in this action were the 1st light infantry, 1st British grenadiers, 1st, 2d, and 3d Hessian grenadiers, 1st battalion of guards, Hessian chasseurs, and the Queen's rangers. I take the liberty of particularising these corps,

corps, as Lord Cornwallis, in his report to me, so highly extols their merit and ardour upon this attack. One piece of cannon was taken by the guards, the other two by Colonel Mingerode's battalion of Hessian grenadiers.

The enemy were pursued as far as Westfield with little effect, the day proving so intensely hot, that the soldiers could with difficulty continue their march thither: in the mean time, it gave opportunity for those flying to escape, by skulking in the thick woods, until night favoured their retreat to the mountain.

The army lay that night at Westfield, returned the next day to Raway, and the day following to Amboy. On the 30th, at ten o'clock in the forenoon, the troops began to cross over to Staten Island; and the rear-guard, under the command of Lord Cornwallis, passed at two in the afternoon, without the least appearance of an enemy.

The embarkation of the troops is proceeding with the utmost dispatch; and I shall have the honour of sending your Lordship further information, as soon as the troops are landed at the place of their destination.

With the most perfect respect, I have the honour to be, your Lordship's most faithful and obedient servant,

W. HOWE.

Copy of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated New-York, 6th July 1777.

[Received 22d August.]

MY LORD,

THAT the officers of the Guards lately relieved may be accommodated on their return to Britain in the best manner our present situation will afford, I have applied to the Admiral particularly for the Lady Gage transport, as a well-armed ship, and in every respect fitted for their reception.

I have likewise requested that, after performing her voyage, she may proceed to Guernsey and Madeira, to take in a cargo of wine and other refreshments for the use of the army; in consequence whereof, the Admiral has wrote to the Secretary of the Admiralty, and favoured me with a copy of his letter, which I take the liberty to transmit to your lordship, with my earnest request that you will be pleased to facilitate my wishes

wishes in such manner as may be found necessary, lest the army should be disappointed in the expected supply.

I have the honour to be,

Your Lordship's most faithful

And most obedient servant,

W. Howe.

Extract of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated New-York, 7th July 1777.

[Received 22d August.]

IT is with much concern I see, by your Lordship's dispatches, No. 8 and 9, that it has been found inexpedient to comply with my requisition for the arrangement of the senior Lieutenant-Colonels of the line to command brigades, and of that for Captain Emerick's corps of chasseurs, whose plan I own I had not thoroughly investigated, taking for granted, if found practicable, that it would have been approved. It was my intention to have had the corps on foot, though I find he proposed to your Lordship to have had a cavalry. The corps of dismounted dragoons under Lieutenant-Colonel White would have contributed much to the strength of the army, which, with the loss of the Hanau corps, increases the disappointment.

In consequence of the King's pleasure, communicated to me by your Lordship, it is some time since I appointed Brigadier Prevost to the province of East and West Florida.

I beg leave to observe, upon the order given to General Burgoyne for discontinuing the junior Lieutenant-Colonels as Brigadiers, that it seems only intended to take place when the two armies absolutely join, which I do not suppose can happen this campaign, as I apprehend General Burgoyne will find full employment for his army against that of the rebels opposed to him. The disagreeable task of sending an order for their discontinuing to serve with the rank of Brigadiers, when under my command, must then remain with me.

I am further to observe to your Lordship, that the war is now upon a far different scale with respect to the increased powers and strength of the enemy, than it was last campaign, their officers being now much better, with the addition of several from the French service, and a very respectable train of field artillery. An officer of the 71st regiment, lately arrived

arrived from Boston, declares he saw fifty pieces of brass cannon landed there a short time before he came from thence: and the army in Jersey has had for some time past forty pieces of brass ordnance. I must therefore urge the completing the British regiments here with draughts and good British recruits, or we shall soon lose our consequence by the current casualties of a campaign, exclusive of a general action.

A corps of Russians, of 10,000 effective fighting men, I think, would ensure the success of the war to Great-Britain in another campaign; but if they are not to be had, and we should succeed in the possession of Pennsylvania, the Jerseys, and this province, in the course of this campaign, the draught of troops for the preservation of them in the next will be great, at the same time that a considerable force will be requisite for the reduction of the northern provinces, wherein three armies should be employed to make it effectual. In our present state 20 regular battalions are employed for the security of this place and Rhode-Island, exclusive of the Provincials, which last amount to about 3000 men.

Being at a loss to furnish accoutrements for the Provincials, I beg leave to propose 4000 sets of tanned leather belts, with light pouches, to be sent from Europe for them.

Sir Henry Clinton arrived here the 5th instant, and as this post is of the utmost importance, he will remain in New-York with the command of twenty-two battalions, disposed according to the inclosed return. The instructions I have taken the liberty of leaving with Sir H. Clinton are to be upon the defensive, with power to act otherwise according to concurrent circumstances, without losing sight of the principal object, in the security of this place, which I hope may be approved.

Lieutenant-Colonel Paterfon having served in the important office of Adjutant-General to this army with much credit to himself, and with infinite satisfaction to me, I beg leave to solicit your Lordship to lay his services before the King, with my most humble request that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to honour him with the rank of Colonel in the army. He stands very high in the list, and has had his present rank fourteen years.

The duplicates of my present dispatches go by the Niger frigate, which ship is appointed to carry General Heister, and to convey some of the foreign officers returning in transports, the relieved officers of the guards, some officers of the line, and a number of invalids.

My

My last advices from Sir Guy Carleton and General Burgoyne were received the 28th of June, in letters from them dated the 14th and 16th of May. They do not contain any thing more material than that the artillery stores designed for the northern service, together with a reinforcement for that corps, and the victuallers from Cork, had not then arrived. Lieutenant General Burgoyne was to proceed the 14th of May for Montreal, to expedite measures for his operations, and to exert every faculty in his power to carry them into speedy execution.

Copy of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, dated New York, 15th July 1777.
[Received 22d August.]

MY LORD,

SINCE closing my last dispatch, I have received advices from West and East Florida.

Mr. Stuart's two letters, copies of which I have the honour to send your Lordship inclosed, and the result of a conference between the governor, superintendent, and commanding officer, will, without troubling your Lordship with other papers, sufficiently shew, that the disposition of the southern Indians is not so favourable as there was reason to believe from former accounts transmitted of them.

From various informations, I am persuaded, that an injudicious grant of licences to traders of bad dispositions, and an over-supply of spirits, have, by debauching the principles of the Indians, and keeping them in a state of perpetual drunkenness, greatly contributed to the defection, or lukewarmness, complained of; and in this idea I have wrote in strong terms to the governor, superintendant, and commanding officer. The copies of my letters, sent inclosed, will convey to your Lordship every thing I have to communicate relative to the concerns of that province.

In East Florida they have had their distresses and apprehensions; but the activity of the Governor and Brigadier-General Prevost, added to the exertion of Major Prevost, have, I hope, by repulsing the advanced corps of the rebels, who were detached for the invasion of the province, and by that means frightening the whole armament into a retreat, restored East Florida to a state of security, at least for the summer months. Brigadier-General Prevost having sent me
extracts

extracts from Major Prevost's letters to him while upon this service, I have the honour to send a copy of them inclosed.

The capture of a brig, the Apalachola, having presents for the Indians on board, and carried into Charles-town, is a circumstance much regretted; but the Springfield, Captain Armstrong, lately arrived here with Indian goods, ordnance, and other stores, will, I hope, relieve all their wants in this, and some other respects. She sails from hence under good convoy.

Various accounts have been lately brought from the northern part of this province, in regard to the army from Canada: and I have this day had the satisfaction to receive a letter from Lieutenant-General Burgoyne, with a confirmation of his being before Ticonderoga; a copy of which your Lordship has inclosed. Intelligence otherwise received leaves no room to doubt his being in possession; but it does not come from authority so certain as to justify me in a positive declaration of the fact.

I am extremely concerned, my Lord, to close this letter with a circumstance as distressing as it was unexpected. An express is just arrived from Rhode-Island with intelligence, that a small party of the rebels made a descent there on the night of the 10th instant, surprised Major-General Prescott in his quarters, carried him off, and Lieutenant Barrington of the 7th regiment, with such dispatch and secrecy as to frustrate every attempt to rescue them. For your Lordship's more particular information I inclose a copy of Brigadier-General Smyth's letter to me on this unlucky accident; and, in consequence thereof, Major-General Pigot is ordered to take the command at Rhode-Island. I am, &c.

W. HOWE.

*Copy of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, dated New York, July 16th 1777. (Private).
[Received 22d August.]*

MY LORD,

BY the movement of the enemy's army in Jersey towards King's-Ferry, upon the North river, since the embarkation of his Majesty's troops from Staten Island, he seems to point at preventing a junction between this and the northern army, which will no further affect my proceeding to Pennsylvania,
than

than to make a small change in the distribution of the troops.

For if the enemy should cross the North river before I sail from hence, or should approach it so near as to give me a prospect of reaching Philadelphia before him, I shall, in either case, strengthen Sir Henry Clinton still more than by the reserve which is already ordered to remain here in addition to the troops, mentioned in the return, under Sir Henry Clinton's command. He will then have sufficient force to act on the defensive against the whole rebel army; but as these additional troops will not be wanted here, if General Washington should march to the defence of Pennsylvania, I shall, in such event, order them to join me in that province. The enemy's movements taking this turn, I apprehend General Burgoyne will meet with little interruption, otherwise than the difficulties he must encounter in transporting stores and provisions for the supply of his army.

On the other hand, if General Washington should march with a determination to force General Burgoyne, the strength of General Burgoyne's army is such as to leave me no room to dread the event: but if Mr. Washington's intentions should be only to retard the approach of General Burgoyne to Albany, he may soon find himself exposed to an attack from this quarter, and from General Burgoyne, at the same time; from both which, I flatter myself, he would find it difficult to escape.

Under these circumstances I propose going up the Delaware, in order to be nearer this place than I should be by taking the course of Chesapeake Bay, which I once intended, and preferred to that of the Delaware, provided the enemy had discovered a disposition to defend Pennsylvania.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. HOWE.

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germain to General Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, 18th May, 1777.

[Received 16th August.]

SIR,

I AM favoured with your letter of the 1st April, wherein you acknowledged the receipt of the several dispatches which I had forwarded to you by the Halifax and Mercury packets, and the Thames frigate.

As

As the capture or destruction of stores and provisions must greatly add to the distress of the rebels, and impede their projected operations, it gave the King much satisfaction to hear of the success that his Majesty's troops had met with at Peck's Kill; and his Majesty was pleased to express his entire approbation, not only of the zeal and judgment which you manifested in planning the expedition, but also of the alacrity and punctuality with which Lieutenant-Colonel Bird executed your orders. I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAIN.

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germain to General Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, May 18, 1777.
[Received 16th August.]

SIR,

YOUR secret letter of April 2d, together with its two inclosures, are received: and I have had the honour of laying them before his Majesty.

I hope that the augmentation which you will receive to your artillery, will be found sufficient to answer your demands; but if it should fall short, you will be in some degree reconciled to your disappointment in not having your requisition complied with, when you recollect that there is but one battalion of the regiment of artillery in Great Britain; and are also informed that, at the time the above-mentioned augmentation failed from Europe, we had not a single *matross* left in the island.

I cannot but hope that the dragoons, with which you have been furnished, will be more than sufficient to supply the deficiencies; and so little doubt was entertained of your progress in the country, and of your being thereby enabled to procure horses, that I neither did, nor can apprehend any material inconvenience to be likely to arise from my inability to send you the requested supply.

As you must, from your situation and military skill, be a competent judge of the propriety of every plan, his Majesty does not hesitate to approve the alterations which you propose; trusting, however, that whatever you may meditate, it will be executed in time for you to co-operate with the army ordered to proceed from Canada, and put itself under your command.

I am extremely concerned to find that you do not imagine your force to be as suitable to the operations of the ensuing
campaign.

campaign, as you confess it was to those of the last: my concern is, however, in a great degree diminished by the intelligence which we daily receive of the rebels finding the utmost difficulty in raising an army to face his Majesty's troops.

And whether I confine my attention to the supposed weakness of the enemy, or reflect upon the proof which you have given of your impatience to begin the campaign, by the early expedition to Peck's Kill, I freely confess that I am not under any apprehension that the execution of your plans will be less speedy than I expected.

If we may credit the accounts which arrive from all quarters, relative to the good inclinations of the inhabitants, there is every reason to expect that your success in Pennsylvania will enable you to raise from among them such a force as may be sufficient for the interior defence of the province, and leave the army at liberty to proceed to offensive operations.

I will not enter into a particular consideration of the advantages which may be expected from a successful execution of your present plan, but content myself with saying, in general, that the information which I have received of the disposition of the people, and the high opinion which I entertain of your abilities, inspire me with no small degree of hope that this campaign will put an end to the unhappy contest.

Lord Howe will have heard that all possible attention has been paid to his demand; and though the number of ships be fewer than he requested, I trust that the force will be equal to his expectations, and that he will, upon their arrival, be able to afford you every necessary assistance.

You will, I am confident, exert your utmost endeavours to induce Mr. Washington to adhere to the terms of the agreement respecting the prisoners; and if he shall continue to disregard your remonstrances, you will easily devise the means of convincing him of the impropriety of so dishonourable a conduct.

Colonel Campbell's abilities are such, that I sincerely lament that he is compelled to remain inactive; and I have no doubt that you have done every thing in your power to procure his release.

I have the pleasure to acquaint you, that his Majesty entirely approves of your letter to Sir Guy Carleton.

I am, &c.

GEORGE GERMAIN.

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germain to Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, 20th May 1777. (Separate.)
[Received 16th August.]

SIR,

I SEND you an extract from Governor Browne's letter to me of the 1st of April last, which I have had the honour of laying before the King; and his Majesty has directed me to inform you, that he has no objection to the governor's having the rank of Major-general, in case you should see no impropriety in it; but, at the same time, is pleased to leave the determination of that point entirely to your judgment.

I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAIN.

Extract of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, dated Camp at the Head of Elk River, Maryland, 30th August 1777.
[Received 28th October.]

MY LORD,

HIS Majesty's gracious approbation of the conduct of Lieutenant-colonel Bird and the troops under his command at Peek's Kill, has been received by them with the most dutiful respect.

Your Lordship has been pleased to signify that my alterations in the plan of this campaign have been approved by the King; but that his Majesty trusts the operations of the army intended for the recovery of the province of Pennsylvania will be finished in time for me to co-operate with the northern army. It is with much concern I am to answer, that I cannot flatter myself I shall be able to act up to the King's expectations in this particular, as my progress, independent of opposition from the enemy's principal army, must be greatly impeded by the prevailing disposition of the inhabitants, who, I am sorry to observe, seem to be, excepting a few individuals, strongly in enmity against us, many having taken up arms, and, by far the greater number, deserted their dwellings, driving off, at the same time, their stock of cattle and horses.

Your Lordship takes notice of my acknowledgment that the troops I had last campaign were suitable to the operation. They were no doubt adequate to act against the rebel force at New York, having then no conquests to guard; but, in the present

present extended situation of the King's southern army, an additional strength, and such a one as I had the honour of proposing, I conceive to have been necessary for bringing the war to a conclusion this campaign, which I have not the smallest hope of effecting with my present force. At the same time, your Lordship may be assured, that no means will be wanting on the part of the generals and other officers and soldiers of this army to obtain so desirable an end.

Copy of a Letter from the Honourable Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, dated Camp at the Head of Elk-River, Maryland, 30th August 1777.

[Received 28th October.]

MY LORD,

THE duplicates of your Lordship's dispatches, N^o 10, 11, and 12, with the Original, N^o 13, I had the honour to receive on the 16th instant by the Eagle Packet.

My last dispatches advised your Lordship of the embarkation of the army at Staten Island, from whence the fleet sailed on the 23d of July, and arrived off the Capes of Delaware on the 30th following; when, from information, I judged it most advisable to proceed to Chesapeak Bay; but meeting with constant unfavourable winds, we did not enter the bay until the 16th instant; from which time the winds proving fair, the fleet arrived at the mouth of the Elk River on the 22d, through a very difficult navigation; and the army landed on the 25th at Elk Ferry, the enemy's army being then in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia.

On the 28th a corps of the army marched from the ferry to this place, by the west side of the river, leaving Lieutenant-general Knyphausen with three brigades in that camp, and one brigade on the communication.

The corps commanded by General Knyphausen will cross the ferry to Cecil court-house to-morrow, and is to form a junction with this on the 3d next ensuing, about eight miles on this side of Christian-bridge.

The enemy's army is at this time encamped behind Brandywine Creek, with an advanced corps on White-clay Creek; their force consists of about fifteen thousand men, including militia; nevertheless, I am of opinion, it will be a difficult matter to bring them to a general action, even though it should be in the defence of Philadelphia.

As I have not heard from General Burgoyne since my last advices to your Lordship, I cannot presume to say what credit is to be given to the successes of the rebels in that quarter mentioned in the inclosed news-paper ; but as their accounts of successes are in general much exaggerated, I am hopeful, even should theirs be true, that he will not be prevented from pursuing the advantages he has already gained with so much honour to himself.

I have the honour to be your Lordship's most faithful and obedient servant,

W. Howe.

P. S. The inclosed Declaration I have published to endeavour to quiet the minds of the people at large in Pennsylvania and the counties to which it has relation, led astray by the leaders in rebellion, as well as with an intent to disunite their army. A counter Proclamation is also ready to issue when expedient.

*Extract from the Maryland Journal of 26th August 1777.
[In Sir William Howe's Letter of 30th August 1777.]*

Philadelphia, August 22d.

By an Express arrived last Evening from General Schuyler to Congress, we have the following important Intelligence.

Van Schaik's Island in the mouth of the Mohawk River, August 18th 1777.

SIR,

I have the honour to congratulate Congress on a signal victory obtained by General Stark, an account whereof is contained in the following letter from General Lincoln, which I have this moment had the happiness to receive, together with General Burgoyne's instructions to Lieutenant Bun, copy whereof is inclosed

Bennington, August 18th 1777.

DEAR GENERAL,

THE late signal success of a body of about 2000 troops, mostly militia, under the command of Brigadier-general Stark in this part of the country, on the 16th instant, over a party of about 1500 of the enemy, who came out with a manifest design to possess themselves of this town, as will appear

appear by the inclosed, is an event happy and important. Our troops behaved in a very brave and heroic manner; they pursued the enemy from one work to another thrown up on advantageous ground, and from different posts, with spirit and fortitude, until they gained a complete victory over them.

The following is the best list I have been able to obtain of the prisoners, their killed, and wounded; viz.

One lieutenant colonel, 1 major, 5 captains, 12 lieutenants, 4 ensigns, 2 cornets, 1 judge advocate, 1 baron, 2 Canadian officers, and 3 surgeons; 37 British soldiers, 398 Hessians, 38 Canadians, and 151 Tories taken; the number of wounded fallen into our hands, exclusive of the above, are about 80.

The number of their slain has not yet been ascertained, as they fought on the retreat for several miles in a wood; but supposed to be about 200. Their artillery, which consisted of 4 brass field-pieces, with a considerable quantity of baggage, likewise fell into our hands. We have heard nothing of Burgoyne or his army for these two days past. The prisoners are sent into the state of Massachusetts's bay, except the Tories; shall wait your directions respecting them, as most of them belong to the state of New York.

I am, dear General, with regard and esteem, your very
humble servant,
B. LINCOLN.

N. B. We had about 20 or 30 killed in the action, and perhaps 50 wounded.

Copy of Orders from Lieutenant-general Burgoyne to Lieutenant colonel Bun, dated near Camp at Saratoga, August 14, 1777.

SIR,

THE accounts you have given me are very satisfactory, and I doubt not every proceeding under your direction will be the same.

I beg the favour of you to report whether the route you have marched be practicable for a large corps with cannon, without repair, or with what sort of repair.

The desirable circumstance at present is to possess Bennington; but should you find the enemy too strongly posted and maintaining such a countenance as would make a coup de main too hazardous, I wish you to take such a post as you can

maintain till you hear further from me ; and upon your report and other circumstances I will either support you in force or withdraw you.

Will you please to send to my camp as soon as you can, waggons and draft cattle, and likewise such other cattle as are not necessary for your subsistence ; let the waggons and carts bring off what flour and wheat they can, that you do not retain for the same purpose. I will write to you in full to-morrow in regard to purchasing horses out of the hands of the savages ; in the mean time, let them be assured, that whatever you select from them fit to mount the dragoons, shall be paid for at a proper price. I have the honour to be, with great esteem, yours, &c.

T. BURGOYNE, Lieutenant-general.

Lieutenant-colonel Bun.

I AM in hopes that Congress will very soon have the satisfaction to learn that General Arnold has raised the siege of Fort Schuyler ; if that takes place I believe it will be possible to engage two or three hundred Indians to join this army, and Congress may rest assured that my best endeavours shall not be wanting to accomplish it.

I am informed that General Gates arrived at Albany yesterday.

Major Livingston, one of my Aids, will have the honour to deliver you this dispatch.

I am, Sir, with every sentiment of respect, your most obedient humble servant,

PHILIP SCHUYLER.

Published by order of the Congress,

JOHN HANCOCK, President.

By his Excellency Sir William Howe, K. B. General and Commander-in Chief, &c. &c. &c.

DECLARATION.

Sir William Howe, regretting the calamities to which many of his Majesty's faithful subjects are still exposed by the continuance of the rebellion, and no less desirous of protecting the innocent, than determined to pursue with the rigours of war all those whom his Majesty's forces, in the course of their progress, may find in arms against the King, doth hereby assure the peaceable inhabitants of the province of Pennsylvania, the
lower

lower counties on Delaware, and the counties of Maryland on the eastern shore of Chesapeake Bay, that, in order to remove any groundless apprehensions which may have been raised of their suffering by depredations of the army under his command, he hath issued the strictest orders to the troops for the preservation of regularity and good discipline, and has signified that the most exemplary punishment shall be inflicted upon those who shall dare to plunder the property, or molest the persons, of any of his Majesty's well-disposed subjects.

Security and protection are likewise extended to all persons inhabitants of the province and counties aforesaid, who, not guilty of having assumed legislative or judicial authority, may have acted illegally in subordinate stations, and, conscious of their misconduct, been induced to leave their dwellings; provided such persons do forthwith return, and remain peaceably at their usual places of abode.

Considering moreover, that many officers and private men, now actually in arms against his Majesty, may be willing to relinquish the part they have taken in this rebellion, and return to their due allegiance, Sir William Howe doth therefore promise a free and general pardon to all such officers and private men as shall voluntarily come and surrender themselves to any detachment of his Majesty's forces, before the day on which it shall be notified that the said indulgence is to be discontinued.

Given under my hand, at head quarters of the army, the 27th day of August 1777.

W. HOWE.

By his Excellency's command,

ROBERT MACKENZIE, Sec.

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germaine to General Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, 20th June 1777.

[Received 7th October.]

SIR,

THE Mercury packet brought me your letter of April 24th, together with the duplicates of your last dispatches.

As every success, especially at the opening of a campaign, has an effect upon an enemy, tending to depress their spirits, and to create an idea of the superiority of their opponents; it gave his Majesty much pleasure to hear of the advantage which Lord Cornwallis gained over the rebels at Bound Brook, and I sincerely congratulate you upon the relief which it must be to

your mind, under that weight of care which inseparably attends your discharge of the great trust committed to you, whenever you reflect that part of your army is under the command of an officer in whose zeal, vigilance, and active courage you can so safely confide.

I have had the satisfaction to hear of the success of the expedition to Danbury by means of Lord Percy, who communicated to me a letter which he received from his Aid-de Camp, Captain Hutchison, dated 28th April, and which has been inserted in the Gazette.

The King having intrusted you with the disposal of vacant ensigncies, and being satisfied with the zeal and activity of the Lieutenant-colonels of the army under your command, has no objection to your using that power in the way that shall appear to you most advantageous to the service.

Having received authentic intelligence of Major Balfour's arrival, I trust that the Isis and her convoy reached you very soon after him. But if they have been unfortunately prevented by contrary winds from reaching the place of their destination in due time, I have nevertheless good hopes that the motions of the army will not be retarded on that account: as I presume that the old camp equipage might be made to serve upon an emergency; and, if I may judge from the events of the last campaign, neither you nor your troops will murmur at any inconvenience to which the good of the service requires you to submit.

I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAIN.

Copy of a Letter from General Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, dated Head Quarters, German Town, Oct. 10, 1777.

[Received 1st December.]

MY LORD,

IN my last dispatch of the 30th of August I had the honour to advise your Lordship of the army having landed on the west side of Elk River, and of its being afterwards divided into two columns; one under the command of Lord Cornwallis at the head of Elk; and the other commanded by Lieutenant-general Knyphausen at Cecil Court-house: I am therefore to give your Lordship an account of the operations from that period, wherein will be included two general actions, in both of which I have the satisfaction to premise, that success has attended his Majesty's arms.

On

On the 3d of September, Major General Grant, with six battalions remaining at the head of Elk, to preserve the communication with the fleet, the two columns joined at Pencadder, lying four miles to the eastward of Elk on the road to Christien-bridge. In this day's march the Hessian and Anspach chasseurs, and the second battalion of light infantry, who were at the head of Lord Cornwallis's column, fell in with a chosen corps of 1000 men from the enemy's army, advantageously posted in the woods, which they defeated with the loss of only two officers wounded, three men killed, and 19 wounded, when that of the enemy was not less than 50 killed, and many more wounded.

On the 6th, Major General Grant, after Captain Duncan, who superintended the naval department, had destroyed such vessels and stores as could not be removed from the head of Elk, joined the army.

The whole marched on the 8th by Newark, and encamped that evening in the township of Hokeffen, upon the road leading from Newport to Lancaster, at which first place General Walhington had taken post, having his left to Christien-creek, and his front covered by Red Clay-creek.

The two armies in this situation being only four miles apart, the enemy moved early in the night of the 8th, by the Lancaster road, from Wilmington, and about ten o'clock next morning crossed Brandywine-creek at Chad's-ford, taking post on the heights on the eastern side of it.

On the 9th in the afternoon, Lieutenant General Knyphausen marched with the left of the army to New-garden and Kennet's-square, while Lord Cornwallis with the right moved to Hokeffen's Meeting-house, and both joined the next morning at Kennet's square.

On the 11th, at day-break, the army advanced in two columns, the right commanded by Lieutenant General Knyphausen, consisting of four Hessian battalions under Major General Stern, the first and second brigades of British, three battalions of the 71st regiment, the Queen's American rangers, and one squadron of the 16th dragoons under Major General Grant, having with them six medium twelve-pounders, four howitzers, and the light artillery belonging to the brigades. This column took the direct road to Chad's-ford, seven miles distant from Kennet's-square, and arrived in front of the enemy about ten o'clock, skirmishing most part of the march with their advanced troops, in which the Queen's rangers, commanded

manded by Capt. Wemyss of the 40th regiment, distinguished themselves in a particular manner.

The other column, under the command of Colonel Cornwallis, Major General Grey, Brigadier Generals Matthew and Agnew, consisting of the mounted and dismounted chasseurs, two squadrons of the 16th dragoons, two battalions of light infantry, two battalions of British, and three of Hessian grenadiers, two battalions of guards, the 3d and 4th brigades, with four light twelve pounders, marched about twelve miles to the forks of the Brandywine, crossed the first branch at Trimble's-ford, and the second at Jeffrey's-ford, about two o'clock in the afternoon, taking from thence the road to Dilworth, in order to turn the enemy's right at Chad's-ford.

General Washington having intelligence of this movement about noon, detached General Sullivan to his right with near 10,000 men, who took a strong position on the commanding ground above Birmingham church, with his left near to the Brandywine, both flanks being covered by very thick woods, and his artillery advantageously disposed.

As soon as this was observed, which was about four o'clock, the King's troops advanced in three columns, and upon approaching the enemy, formed the line with the right towards the Brandywine; the guards being upon the right, and the British grenadiers upon their left, supported by the Hessian grenadiers in a second line: to the left of the centre were two battalions of light infantry, with the Hessian and Anspach chasseurs, supported by the 4th brigade. The 3d brigade formed the reserve.

Lord Cornwallis having formed the line, the light infantry and chasseurs began the attack; the guards and grenadiers instantly advanced from the right, the whole under a heavy train of artillery and musquetry; but they pushed on with an impetuosity not to be sustained by the enemy, who falling back into the woods in their rear, the King's troops entered with them, and pursued closely for near two miles.

After this success a part of the enemy's right took a second position in a wood about half a mile from Dilworth, from whence the 2d light infantry and chasseurs soon dislodged them, and from this time they did not rally again in force.

The 1st British grenadiers, the Hessian grenadiers, and guards, having in the pursuit got entangled in very thick woods, were no further engaged during the day.

The

The 2d light infantry, 2d grenadiers, and 4th brigade, moved forward a mile beyond Dilworth, where they attacked a corps of the enemy that had not been before engaged, and were strongly posted to cover the retreat of their army by the roads from Chad's-ford to Chester and Wilmington; which corps not being forced until after it was dark, when the troops had undergone much fatigue, in a march of 17 miles, besides what they supported since the commencement of the attack, the enemy's army escaped a total overthrow, that must have been the consequence of an hour's more day-light.

The 3d brigade was not brought into action, but kept in reserve in the rear of the 4th brigade, it not being known before it was dark how far Lieutenant General Knyphausen's attack had succeeded; nor was there an opportunity of employing the cavalry.

Lieutenant General Knyphausen, as had been previously concerted, kept the enemy amused in the course of the day with cannon, and the appearance of forcing the ford, without intending to pass it until the attack upon the enemy's right should take place: accordingly when it began, Major General Grant crossed the ford with the 4th and 5th regiments; and the 4th regiment passing first, forced the enemy from an intrenchment and battery, where three brass field pieces and a five and half-inch howitzer were taken, that had been placed there to command the ford. The enemy made little stand on that side after the work was carried, when the guards appearing on their right flank, the retreat became general; but darkness coming on before Lieutenant General Knyphausen's corps could reach the heights, there was no farther action on that side.

From the most correct accounts, I conclude the strength of the enemy's army opposed to Lieutenant General Knyphausen and Lord Cornwallis was not less than 15,000 men, a part of which retired to Chester, and remained there that night, but the greater body did not stop till they reached Philadelphia. Their loss was considerable in officers killed and wounded, and they had about 300 men killed, 600 wounded, and near 400 made prisoners.

The loss on the side of his Majesty's troops, and the ordnance, ammunition, and stores, taken from the enemy, will appear in the inclosed returns.

The army laid this night on the field of battle, and on the 12th Major General Grant, with the 1st and 2d brigades, marched to Concord. Lord Cornwallis, with the light infantry

fantry and British grenadiers, joined him next day, and proceeded to Ash-town, within five miles of Chester.

On the same day (the 13th) the 71st regiment was detached to Wilmington, where the enemy had thrown up works both to the land and to the river, with seven pieces of cannon in the latter; but these works being evacuated, Major M'Donell took possession of the place without opposition, and made Mr. M'Kinley, the new appointed President of the lower counties on Delaware, his prisoner.

On the 14th, Lieutenant Colonel Loos, with the combined battalion of Rhal's brigade, escorted the wounded and sick to Wilmington, whither the battalion of Mirbach was sent two days afterwards to join them.

The army moved in two columns towards Goshen on the 16th; and intelligence being received upon the march that the enemy was advancing upon the Lancaster road, and were within five miles of Goshen, it was immediately determined to push forward the two columns and attack them; Lord Cornwallis to take his route by Goshen Meeting-house, and Lieutenant General Knyphausen by the road to Downing-town.

The two divisions proceeded on their march, but a most violent fall of rain setting in, and continuing the whole day and night without intermission, made the intended attack impracticable.

The first light infantry, at the head of Lord Cornwallis's column, meeting with a part of the enemy's advanced guard, about a mile beyond Goshen, defeated them, killing 12, and wounding more, without the loss of a man.

Nearly at the same time the chasseurs in front of Lieutenant General Knyphausen's column fell in with another party, of which they killed an officer and five men, and took four officers prisoners, with the loss of three men wounded.

The enemy being thus apprized of the approach of the army, marched with the utmost precipitation the whole night of the 16th, and got in the morning to the Yellow Springs, having, as is since known, all their small ammunition damaged by the excessive rain.

In the evening of the 17th Lord Cornwallis advanced to the Lancaster road, and took post about two miles distant from Lieutenant General Knyphausen.

The army joined in the Lancaster road at the White Horse on the 18th, and marched to Truduffrin, from whence a detachment of light infantry was immediately sent to the Valley Forge upon Schuylkill, where the enemy had a variety of stores,

stores, and a considerable magazine of flour. The first battalion of light infantry and the British grenadiers took post there next day, and were joined on the 20th by the guards.

The enemy crossed the Schuylkill on the 18th, above French-creek, and encamped upon the river on each side of Perkyomy creek, having detached troops to all the fords of Schuylkill, with cannon at Swedesford and the fords below it.

Upon intelligence that General Wayne was laying in the woods with a corps of 1500 men, and four pieces of cannon, about three miles distant, and in the rear of the left wing of the army, Major-General Grey was detached on the 20th, late at night, with the 2d light infantry, the 42d and 44th regiments, to surprize this corps. The most effectual precaution being taken by the General to prevent his detachment from firing, he gained the enemy's left about one o'clock, and having, by the bayonet only, forced their out-cries and pickets, he rushed in upon their encampment, directed by the light of their fires, killed and wounded not less than 300 on the spot, taking between 70 and 80 prisoners, including several officers, the greater part of their arms, and eight waggons loaded with baggage and stores. Upon the first alarm, the cannon were carried off, and the darkness of the night only saved the remainder of the corps. One captain of light infantry and three men were killed in the attack, and four men wounded. Gallantry in the troops, and good conduct in the General, were fully manifested upon this critical service.

On the 21st the army moved by Valley Forge, and encamped upon the banks of Schuylkill, extending from Fat Land-ford to French-creek. The enemy upon this movement quitted their position, and marched towards Pottsgrove in the evening of this day.

On the 22d the grenadiers and light infantry of the guards crossed over in the afternoon at Fat Land-ford to take post, and the chaffeurs crossing soon after at Gordon's-ford, opposite to the left of the line, took post there also. The army was put in movement at midnight, the van-guard being led by Lord Cornwallis, and the whole crossed the river at Fat Land-ford without opposition. Major-General Grant, who commanded the rear-guard with the baggage, passed the river before two o'clock in the afternoon, and the army encamped on the 23d with its left to the Shuylkill, and the right upon
the

the Monatomy road, having Stony Run in front. The 2d battalion of light infantry was detached to Swedes-ford, which a small part of the enemy quitted immediately, leaving six pieces of iron cannon behind them.

On the 25th the army marched in two columns to German-town; and Lord Cornwallis, with the British grenadiers, and two battalions of Hessian grenadiers, took possession of Philadelphia the next morning.

In the evening of the 26th three batteries for six medium 12 pounders and four howitzers were begun at Philadelphia to act against the enemy's shipping and craft that might approach the town. These batteries were unfinished on the 27th, when two frigates, a number of galleys, gondolas, and other armed vessels, came up from Mud Island, and attacked the lower battery of two guns and two howitzers. The largest frigate, called the Delaware, mounting 30 guns, anchored within 500 yards of the battery, and the other frigate somewhat more distant; the galleys, gondolas, and other vessels, taking their respective stations as they could bring their guns to bear. About ten in the morning they began a heavy cannonade upon the town as well as the battery, but the tide falling, the Delaware grounded; upon which the four battalion guns of the grenadiers being brought to bear upon her to the greatest advantage, they did such execution in a short time, that she struck her colours, and was taken possession of by the marine company of grenadiers commanded by Captain Aymer.

Brigadier-general Cleaveland, who attended the batteries in person, seeing the effect of the battalion guns upon the Delaware, turned the direction of his fire to the smaller frigate and armed vessels, which forced all of them, excepting a schooner that was disabled and driven on shore, to return to their former situation, under the protection of the fort, where there were two floating batteries, in the manner of hulks, of considerable strength, with three ranges of sunken machines, which they term chevaux de frize, to obstruct the passage of the river, the lowest row being three miles below the fort.

The enemy had a redoubt upon the Jersey shore at a place called Billing's Point, with heavy guns in it, to prevent these machines from being weighed up.

Upon the representation of Captain Hammond, commanding his Majesty's ship Roebuck, who was laying off Chester with some other ships of war, that the possession of Billing's Point would give him the lower chevaux de frize, the 10th and 42d regiments were detached on the 29th, under the command

mand of Lieutenant Colonel Stirling. This detachment crossing the river next day from Chester, took possession on the 11th of October of the enemy's works at the Point, which 300 men posted there evacuated, after spiking the guns and burning the barracks. Lieutenant-Colonel Stirling pursued them about two miles, but to little purpose, as they retired with the utmost precipitation. Captain Hammond immediately opened the navigation at that place by removing a part of the chevaux de frize.

On the 3d the regiment of Royal Welch Fusiliers was detached to Philadelphia, with orders to proceed next day to Chester, where they were to be joined by the 10th and 42d regiments on their return from Jersey, and to form an escort for a convoy of provisions to the army.

The enemy having received a reinforcement of 1500 men from Peek's Kill, 1000 from Virginia, and presuming upon the army being much weakened by the detachments to Philadelphia and Jersey, thought it a favourable time for them to risque an action. They accordingly marched at six o'clock in the evening of the 3d from their camp near Shippach Creek, about 16 miles from German Town.

This village forms one continued street for two miles, which the line of encampment, in the position the army then occupied, crossed at right angles near a mile from the head of it, where the 2d battalion of light infantry and the 40th regiment were posted.

In this line of encampment Lieutenant General Knyphausen, Major-Generals Stern and Grey, Brigadier-General Agnew, with seven British and three Hessian battalions, the mounted and dismounted chasseurs, were upon the left of the village, extending to the Schuylkill, the chasseurs being in front.

Major-General Grant and Brigadier-General Matthew, with the corps of guards, six battalions of British, and two squadrons of dragoons, were upon the right; the 11th battalion of light infantry and the Queen's American rangers were advanced in the front of this wing.

At three o'clock in the morning of the 4th the patrols discovered the enemy's approach, and upon the communication of this intelligence the army was immediately ordered under arms.

Soon after the break of day the enemy began their attack upon the 2d light infantry, which they sustained for a considerable time, supported by the 40th regiment; but at length being overpowered by increasing numbers, the light infantry

fantry and a part of the 40th retired into the village, when Lieutenant-Colonel Mulgrave, with six companies of the latter corps, threw himself into a large stone house in the face of the enemy, which, though surrounded by a brigade, and attacked by four pieces of cannon, he most gallantly defended, until Major-General Grey, at the head of three battalions of the 3d brigade, turning his front to the village, and Brigadier-General Agnew, who covered Major-General Grey's left with the 4th brigade, by a vigorous attack repulsed the enemy that had penetrated into the upper part of the village, which was done with great slaughter: the 5th and 55th regiments, from the right, engaging them at the same time on the other side of the village, completed the defeat of the enemy in this quarter.

The regiments of Du Corps and Donop being formed to support the left of the 4th brigade, and one battalion of the Hessian grenadiers in the rear of the chasseurs, were not engaged; the precipitate flight of the enemy preventing the two first corps from entering into action, and the success of the chasseurs, in repelling all efforts against them on that side, did not call for the support of the latter.

The 1st light infantry and pickets of the line in front of the right wing were engaged soon after the attack began upon the head of the village; the pickets were obliged to fall back, but the light infantry, being well supported by the 4th regiment, sustained the enemy's attack with such determined bravery, that they could not make the least impression on them.

Two columns of the enemy were opposite to the guards, 27th, and 28th regiments, who formed the right of the line.

Major-General Grant, who was upon the right, moved up the 49th regiment, with four pieces of cannon, to the left of the 4th regiment, about the time Major-General Grey had forced the enemy in the village, and then advancing with the right wing, the enemy's left gave way, and was pursued through a strong country between four and five miles.

Lord Cornwallis, being early apprized at Philadelphia of the enemy's approach, put in motion the two battalions of British and one of the Hessian grenadiers, with a squadron of dragoons; and his Lordship getting to German-town just as the enemy had been forced out of the village, he joined Major-General Grey, when placing himself at the head of the troops; he followed the enemy eight miles on the Skippach road; but
such

such was the expedition with which they fled, he was not able to overtake them.

The grenadiers from Philadelphia, who, full of ardour, had run most of the way to German-town, could not arrive in time to join in the action.

The country in general was so strongly inclosed and covered with wood, that the dragoons had not any opening to charge, excepting a small party on the right, which behaved most gallantly.

The enemy retired near twenty miles by several roads to Perkyomy-creek, and are now encamped near Skippack-creek, about eighteen miles distant from hence.

They saved all their cannon by withdrawing them early in the day.

By the best accounts their loss was between 200 and 300 killed, about 600 wounded, and upwards of 400 taken. Among the killed was General Nash, with many other officers of all ranks, and 54 officers among the prisoners.

Since the battle of Brandywine 72 of their officers have been taken, exclusive of ten belonging to the Delaware frigate.

Your Lordship will see the loss on the part of the King's army in return, No. 3; and among the killed will be found the names of Brigadier General Agnew and Lieutenant Colonel Bird of the 15th regiment, both of whom are much to be lamented as officers of experience and approved merit.

Lieutenant Colonel Walcot of the 5th regiment is among the wounded; but I have the satisfaction to report that he is now in a fair way of recovery, though at first his wound was thought mortal. His behaviour on this occasion reflects upon him infinite honour.

In these several engagements, the successes attending them are far better vouchers than any words can convey of the good conduct of the general officers, and of the bravery of the other officers and soldiers. The fatigues of a march exceeding 100 miles, supported with the utmost cheerfulness by all ranks, without tents, and with very little baggage, will, I hope, be esteemed as convincing proofs of the noble spirit and emulation prevailing in the army to promote his Majesty's service.

Major Cuyler, my first Aid de Camp, will have the honour to deliver my dispatches, and I flatter myself is well informed to answer your Lordship's further inquiries.

With most perfect respect,

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. HOWE.

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germaine to General Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, 6th August 1777.

[Received 19th October.]

SIR,

YOU will have learnt from my dispatch of the 20th June that the news of the success of the detachment under the command of Major General Tryon had reached England before the arrival of your letter of 22d May.

Your account of that expedition nevertheless gave the King great satisfaction, as it was accompanied with assurances that his Majesty's troops had sustained a comparatively small loss, and that the wounded officers were in a fair way of recovery.

The King was pleased to repeat the approbation he formerly expressed of your manifest attention to the service, in setting on foot an expedition which was so well-timed, and so peculiarly calculated for distressing the enemy; and his Majesty highly approves of the manner in which it has been executed.

I hope that the reports which you received from the neighbourhood of Albany have been confirmed, and followed by well authenticated accounts of the rapid progress of the northern army.

I have, &c.

GEO. GERMAINE.

Extract of a Letter from Lord George Germaine to Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, 6th August 1777.

[Received 19th October.]

I HAD the honour of receiving your dispatches from Major Dixon, and must do him the justice to acknowledge that I found him a very intelligent officer.

Your letter of June the 3d, together with the intended distribution of the troops, has been laid before the King; and I am commanded to inform you, that his Majesty is concerned that you should find the proposed diversion upon the coast of Massachusetts Bay not consistent with the other operations now carrying on, as great advantages would certainly have arisen from that mode of alarming and distressing the enemy.

It was always my wish and my constant endeavour that you should be supplied with as many men as you could possibly stand in need of. You will have received every reinforcement of the artillery companies which could be possibly spared from this

this country, and I am much concerned to find that you have been in the least degree disappointed in your expectation of being able to raise men for that corps.

I congratulate you upon the safe arrival of the other troops and the camp equipage, and am extremely glad to hear that Major General Grey is also arrived.

You will probably infer from the general terms in which I have above acknowledged the receipt of your late letters, that your favour of June 5th is come to hand; but as that is the only letter, to the accounts of which I have not alluded in my present dispatches, it may not be amiss to mention that I have received it, and its eleven inclosures.

Having heard from France, and by means of private letters from America, that you had embarked the troops and evacuated the Jerseys, I wait with impatience for the receipt of some fresh dispatches from you, having no doubt but that you have taken the earliest opportunity of transmitting to Europe an account of a movement which it is to be hoped may be productive of decisive consequences.

Extract of a Letter from General Sir William Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated Philadelphia, October 21, 1777.
[Received 1st December.]

SINCE the march of the army from the head of the Elk, I have been honoured with your Lordship's several dispatches, No. 10, 11, 12, and separate letter of the 20th of May, the duplicates of which were before received, also the original and duplicate of the 12th of June, enclosing the states of Hessian chaffeurs and recruits brought out by Major General Robertson, a circular letter of the same date, and the original and duplicate of your Lordship's dispatch, No. 14. These reached my hands at German Town on the 17th instant, and on the 19th I had the further honour of your Lordship's dispatches of the 6th of August, which came to New York by the Le Despencer packet.

The inclosed copies of reports from Lieutenant General Sir Henry Clinton and Brigadier General Campbell, will give your Lordship a particular information of the most material transactions that have passed on the side of New York. The very important and brilliant success set forth in No. 3, does infinite honour to the General and his troops, and must be attended with the best consequences to his Majesty's service.

The loss on the part of the King's troops on this last occasion is contained in return No. 4.

One hundred of the enemy were killed in the different attacks, 8 field officers, 2 captains, 12 subalterns, and about 300 men made prisoners, by the best accounts that could be obtained before Sir Henry Clinton's advices were dispatched.

On the 19th the army removed from German Town to this place, as a more convenient situation for the reduction of Fort Island, which at present is an obstruction to the passage of the river, as the upper chevaux de frize cannot be removed until we have possession of that post. The difficulty of access has rendered the reduction of it a much more tedious operation than was conceived upon our arrival here.

I am to request that additional cloathing may be sent over for 5000 provincials, which, by including the new levies expected to be raised in this and the neighbouring countries, will certainly be wanting.

Extract of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated Philadelphia, 22d Oct. 1777.
[Received 1st December 1777.]

I AM to acknowledge the honour of your Lordship's private letter of the 4th of August, and beg the acceptance of my assurances, that I am fully sensible of your Lordship's good intentions towards me.

I should not have been so pressing for the return of the senior officers of the guards, but from the serious inconveniences of the want of Brigadiers in the line.

This packet has been detained longer than I could have foreseen, from my not having a safe communication with the shipping, until the army reached this place. The variety of occurrences since that period has prevented my present dispatches being sooner sent off. Your Lordship will permit me to add, I have never neglected sending the earliest advices that the service on which I was employed would admit of: yet, as my public letters must be written with every degree of precaution, they have sometimes been less forward than my wishes for their dispatch.

The rebels having reported that Lieutenant General Burgoyne's army had surrendered prisoners of war, will no doubt send such account to Europe; and I mention this circumstance

stance to your Lordship with my opinion, that it is totally false: though I confess from the tenor of General Burgoyne's letters and messages to Sir Henry Clinton, I apprehend the account the enemy has published of his retreat to be true.

I was surprized to find the General's declaration in his message to Sir Henry Clinton by Captain Campbell, "that he would not have given up his communications with Ticonderoga had he not expected a co-operating army at Albany;" since in my letter to Sir Guy Carleton, a copy of which was transmitted to your Lordship in my dispatch of the 2d April, 1777, No. 47. and of which his Majesty was pleased to approve, I positively mention that no direct assistance could be given by the southern army. This letter I am assured was received by Sir Guy Carleton, and carried by him to Montreal before General Burgoyne's departure from thence.

There being no prospect of terminating the war to the advantage of Great Britain without another campaign, and not then unless ample succours be sent from Europe, I am persuaded (leaving smaller objects out of the scale, and attending only to those of real magnitude) that I do not exceed, when I rate the number requisite to obtain this desirable end at 10,000 men, exclusive of the drafts and recruits for the British regiments, as mentioned in my dispatch, No. 69, and independent of the northern troops: for the armies in New England must be very powerful, and the force to act against the southern provinces to effect, cannot be less than 15,000 men, besides the strength necessary for the defence of this place and New York. When your Lordship is pleased to take these opinions into consideration, I flatter myself you will find them just.

I must now beg leave to add a few words relative to my own situation in the important trust I have had the honour to hold, and in the discharge of which I can confidently affirm, that my sole view has been invariably confined to the advancement of his Majesty's interests.

From the little attention, my Lord, given to my recommendations since the commencement of my command, I am led to hope that I may be relieved from this very painful service, wherein I have not the good fortune to enjoy the necessary confidence and support of my superiors, but which I conclude will be extended to Sir Henry Clinton, my presumptive successor, or to such other servant as the King may be pleased to appoint. By the return therefore of the packet, I

humbly request I may receive his Majesty's permission to resign the command.

Copy of a Letter from General Sir William Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated Philadelphia, 25th Oct. 1777.
[Received 1st December.]

MY LORD,

THE enemy having entrenched about 800 men at Red Bank, upon the Jersey shore, some little distance above Fort Island, Colonel Donop, with three battalions of Hessian grenadiers, the regiment of Mirback, and the infantry, chasscurs, crossed the Delaware on the 21st inst. to Cooper's Ferry, opposite to this town, with directions to proceed to the attack of that post. The detachment marched a part of the way on the same day, and on the 22d, in the afternoon, was before Red Bank: Colonel Donop immediately made the best disposition, and led on the troops in the most gallant manner to the assault. They carried an extensive outwork, from whence the enemy were driven into an interior intrenchment, which could not be forced without ladders, being eight or nine feet high, with a parapet boarded and fraized. The detachment in moving up and returning the attack was much galled by the enemy's galleys and floating batteries.

Colonel Donop and Lieutenant Colonel Minningerode being both wounded, the command devolved upon Lieutenant Colonel Linfing, who, after collecting all the wounded that could be brought off, marched that night about five miles towards Cooper's Ferry, and on the following morning returned with the detachment to camp.

Colonel Donop unfortunately had his thigh so much fractured by a musquet ball, that he could not be removed, but I since understand there are some hopes of his recovery.— There were several brave officers lost upon this occasion, in which the utmost ardour and courage were displayed by both officers and soldiers.

On the 23d, the Augusta, in coming up the river, with some other ships of war, to engage the enemy's galleys near the fort, got aground, and by some accident taking fire in the action, was unavoidably consumed; but I do not hear there were any lives lost. The Merlin sloop also grounded, and the other ships being obliged to remove to a distance from the explosion of the Augusta, it became expedient to evacuate and burn her also.

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These disappointments, however, will not prevent the most vigorous measures being pursued for the reduction of the fort, which will give us the passage up the river.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. Howe.

P. S. I have the satisfaction to inclose to your Lordship a report just received of a very spirited piece of service performed by Major General Vaughan and Sir James Wallace up the Hudson's River.

The following is a Copy and Extract of two Letters from the Honourable General Sir William Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated Philadelphia, Nov. 28, 1777.

[Received 7th January 1788.]

MY LORD,

FROM a variety of difficulties attending the construction of additional batteries in a morass, against the fort upon Mud Island, and in transportation of the guns and stores, they were not opened against the enemy's defences until the 10th instant. On the 15th, the wind proving fair, the Vigilant armed ship, carrying 16 24 pounders, and a hulk with three 24 pounders, got up to the fort through the channel between Providence and Hog Island; these, assisted by several ships of war in the eastern channel, as well as by the batteries on shore, did such execution upon the fort and collateral block-houses, that the enemy, dreading an impending assault, evacuated the island in the night between the 15th and 16th, and it was possessed the 16th at day-break by the grenadiers of the guards. Much commendation is due to Brigadier General Cleaveland, to the officers and men of the corps of artillery, and to the troops in general employed upon this service, attended with great fatigue.

The enemy's fire upon the ships of war, the Vigilant and hulk, from two floating batteries, 17 galleys and armed vessels, and from a battery on the Jersey shore, was exceedingly heavy; but the gallantry displayed by the naval commanders, their officers and seamen, on this occasion, frustrated all their efforts, and contributed principally to the reduction of the enemy's works. Permit me at the same time to report to your Lordship, that the perseverance of the officers and seamen employed in bringing up stores from the fleet, under the conduct of Captain Duncan of the Eagle, demand my highest

acknowledgments; and that the services they rendered were most essential, and borne with the utmost cheerfulness.

I have the honour to inclose a return, No. 1, of the cannon and stores found in the fort. The enemy's loss during the siege is computed to have been 400 killed and wounded. The loss to the King's troops was only seven killed and five wounded.

On the 18th at night Lord Cornwallis marched with a corps from camp, and passed the Delaware on the 19th from Chester to Billing's Fort, where he was joined by Major General Sir Thomas Wilson, with a corps that arrived a few days before from New York under his command, having with him Brigadier General Leslie and Pattison.

As soon as the necessary preparations were made, his Lordship pursued his march to attack the enemy intrenched at Red Bank. Upon his approach the rebels evacuated the post, and retired to Mount Holly, where they joined a corps of observation, detached from the main army of the rebels, encamped at White Marsh. His Lordship found in the enemy's works, cannon, ammunition, and stores, as per return, No. 2. The intrenchments being demolished, his corps returned by Gloucester on the 27th, and joined the army in this camp.

The enemy's shipping having no longer any protection, and not finding it advisable to attempt the passage of the river, the channel being commanded by the batteries of the town and the Delaware frigate, they were quitted without being dismantled, and burnt on the night between the 20th and 21st; but the galleys of a smaller draught of water, by keeping close along the Jersey shore, escaped from the great breadth of the river.

A forward movement against the enemy will immediately take place, and hope will be attended with the success that is due to the spirit and activity of his Majesty's troops.

The passage of the river, by the reduction of the two places afore-mentioned, has been sufficiently opened to bring up frigates and transports; but the removal of the chevaux de frize is postponed to a more favourable season.

Major General Sir Thomas Spencer Wilson having represented the very critical situation of his private concerns in England, has my leave to return, and has taken charge of my dispatches to your Lordship, by the Eagle packet.

With the most perfect respect,

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. HOWE.

Copy

*Copy of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord. George
Germaine, dated Philadelphia, 29th Nov. 1777.
[Received 7th Jan. 1778.]*

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to inclose to your Lordship a copy of Major General Vaughan's second report to Sir Henry Clinton of his observations upon the North River, soon after which he returned to York, and remains there under Sir Henry Clinton's command.

The last accounts I have received from Rhode Island mention a descent which the enemy threatened upon that place about the 30th October, and of considerable preparations they had made with that design; but the disposition of the Admiral and Major General Pigot to oppose them, together with the spirited behaviour of the inhabitants who associated for the defence of Newport, induced them to desist and separate.

By Lieutenant General Burgoyne's convention with Major General Gates, the troops included therein were to have embarked from Boston; but the season being too far advanced for light transports to get round from hence, they have been sent to Rhode Island, under a presumption that this variation in the place of embarking may be permitted without deviating from the spirit of the convention.

My last letters from Nova Scotia have not contained any thing material, neither are they of a late date. Major General Massey had at that time detached a small corps to Saint John's River to check some inimical measures, of which he had received advice, wherein his detachment was successful.

From Saint Augustine no advices have been received for a length of time, wherefore it is not in my power to give your Lordship the smallest certain information relative to the Florida provinces.

With the most perfect respect,

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. HOWE.

Copy

Copy of a Letter, marked private, from Sir W. Howe to Lord George Germain, dated Philadelphia, 30th Nov. 1777.
[Received 7th January 1778.]

MY LORD,

In consequence of the misfortune that has fallen upon the troops under Lieutenant General Burgoyne's command, a considerable reinforcement from General Gates's corps has joined General Washington. The hopes of the people at large, as well as of the rebel army, are greatly raised from this event; and I am free to own, I do not apprehend a successful termination to the war from any advantages his Majesty's troops can gain while the enemy is able to avoid or unwilling to hazard a decisive action, which might induce the leaders in rebellion to make an overture for peace, or that this is to be expected, unless a respectable addition to the army is sent from Europe to act early in the ensuing year, as has been set forth in my dispatches to your Lordship by Lieutenant Colonel Cuyler, when circumstances were in some degree different. If this measure is judged to be inexpedient, or cannot be carried into execution, the event of the war will be very doubtful.

Were any one of the three principal objects, viz. New York, Rhode Island, or Philadelphia, given up, to strengthen the defence of the other two, one corps to act offensively might be found; in the mean time such a cession would operate in the minds of the people strongly against his Majesty's interests: but should your Lordship find it adviseable for the army to act intirely on the defensive during the next campaign, in order to prepare a force in Europe for the succeeding one, which may be decisive, the present acquisitions will, I trust, be preserved.

This measure would undoubtedly expose the enemy to much distress for the support of their armies, from the difficulties of obtaining exterior supplies, as also from the continuance of a very heavy expence for their subsistence. It might, on the other hand, by protracting the war, produce events which it may not be prudent to risk.

As a duty I owe to your Lordship, and in obedience to his Majesty's commands, I candidly declare my opinion, that in the apparent temper of the Americans a considerable addition to the present force will be requisite for effecting any essential change in their disposition, and the re-establishment of the
 King's

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King's authority, and that this army acting on the defensive will be fully employed to maintain its present possessions.

With the most perfect respect I have the honour to be, &c.
&c. &c. W. HOWE.

*Copy of a Letter from Sir Wm. Howe to Lord Geo. Germaine,
dated Philadelphia, 30th Nov. 1777.*

[Received 7th January 1778.]

MY LORD,

IT is with reluctance that I am to trouble your Lordship with a late transaction of the Secretary at War; but apprehending it would not be submitted to by any Commander in Chief, having a similar commission to mine, with the fullest assurances from the Secretary of State in the King's name of his Majesty's gracious intention, that the Secretary at War should not interfere in opposition to the powers therein contained, I esteem myself bound to lay the case before your Lordship.

Lord Barrington, by letter dated the 7th June, acquainted me, that Lieut. Barrington of the 7th regiment was preferred by purchase to a company in the 70th. In consequence of this advice I appointed Ensign Papley from the 37th regiment Lieutenant in the 70th by commission, bearing date the 26th October 1777; since then I am informed Lord Barrington has obtained the King's commission for an officer (Lieut. Ord) in that succession, and that he now is with the corps.

I shall not trouble your Lordship further on this point than to express my hopes of being relieved, in consequence of my letter of the 22d October, from all disputes with the Secretary at War, in which it is with great concern I find I have not met a support reconcilable to my situation.

I am, &c.

WM. HOWE.

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germaine to Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, 18th August 1777.

[Received 12th December 1777.]

SIR,

I HAVE lately received from Mr. Casbeck, the Presiding Member of the Council in the island of St. John, the strongest representations of the dangers to which the persons and properties

erties of the settlers are exposed from the disaffected inhabitants of the opposite coast of Nova Scotia, and the depredations of the rebel privateers.

The preparations they had been making for their security, in consequence of your letter to Mr. Calbeck of the 6th February 1776, authorizing him to raise a company of 100 men, and to construct some works upon the eminences near Charlotte Town, had greatly served to abate those fears which the cruelty exercised by the rebels in their attempt upon that island in November 1775 had excited; and they were proceeding in the cultivation of their farms with some spirit when your letter to Mr. Calbeck of the 4th of June, acquainting him that the Admiral at your request had given directions for bringing away the cannon at Charlotte Town, which would render the company he had intended to raise unnecessary, and that the island would be protected by a sloop of war for the present, and the station of a frigate between it and the Gut of Canceaux in future, revived their apprehensions, put a stop to all improvement, and prevented any increase of inhabitants.

I must confess to you that I do not think the alarm they have taken is without grounds, for circumstanced as that island is, the station of a ship of war to cruize between it and the Gut of Canceaux, though very necessary, is nevertheless but a precarious protection against the depredations of their opposite neighbours, and the small rebel cruizers, even during the season the sea is open, and none at all when the sea is shut up, or become so dangerous that none of the King's ships can be allowed to remain in it. It is his Majesty's wish therefore that some more certain protection should be given to that island, either by stationing a detachment of one hundred men from Goreham's or any other of the corps raised in America which you can best spare for this service, or in case you shall not think it proper to send any detachment thither, by renewing your former directions to Mr. Calbeck to raise a company for the immediate defence of the island, upon the same footing as the other American levies, and to be paid by you out of the army extraordinaries.

I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAIN:

Copy

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germain to Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, 3d Sept. 1777.

[Received 12th December.]

SIR,

THE late arrival in England of several of the King's officers, and others of his Majesty's loyal subjects, from South Carolina and Georgia, has enabled the governors of those provinces, who have been some time here, to collect such information respecting their state and the dispositions of the people as to warrant their drawing up and presenting to me a joint memorial, containing their opinion of the practicability and importance of reducing those provinces, in the course of next winter, to his Majesty's obedience; and as that measure makes a part of your plan of operations, which has been approved by the King, I think it proper to send you the inclosed copy of these gentlemen's memorial, as it may furnish you with some information which may be useful in the execution of that very essential service.

I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAIN.

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germain to Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, 3d Sept. 1777.

[Received 12th December.]

SIR,

HIS Majesty, apprehending that you mean to carry this campaign into part of the next winter, hath commanded me to inform you that he trusts you will give leave to as few as possible of the general officers serving under you to return to Europe, and to none of them who do not shew to you the necessity of their absence.

As great inconvenience would often arise to the service if general officers were permitted to take their Aid de Camps from the corps of engineers, his Majesty was pleased to order that practice to be discontinued; but I am to acquaint you the King did not mean that the order should affect his Commander in Chief, further than to prevent his appointing the Chief Engineer in his army one of his Aid de Camps. Should you think proper to appoint any other officer of that corps serving under you, the King, in order to prevent that branch of service suffering, means to supply his place from hence; you will therefore give me leave to submit to your consideration, whether,

ther, when you choose to have an Aid de Camp an officer of the corps of engineers, it will not be better to have him from hence than to take one of those already serving in your army.
I am, &c. G^{EO}. GERMAIN.

Extract of a Letter from Lord George Germain to Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, 3d September 1777.

[Received 12th December.]

AS Mr. Washington's determination of June 10th, relative to the exchange of prisoners, is in all probability a resolution from which no arguments on our part will induce him to recede, it becomes necessary to put an immediate end to a fruitless negotiation.

As you will find it extremely difficult to obviate the inconvenience which must result from the mistake committed by the Hessian chassieurs, I cannot but be concerned at their neglect, especially as it is impossible to supply the deficiency by a timely transmission of saddles and accoutrements from Europe.

The Earl of Suffolk will make immediate application for them.

Extract of a Letter from Lord George Germain to Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, 3d September 1777.

[Received 12th December.]

YOUR letters of June 8th, July 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, 15th, and 17th came to hand on the 22d August, and I had the honour of laying them, together with the inclosures, before the King.

As you express a wish that my dispatches may be forwarded to New York as usual, I shall avail myself of the packet which sails on Thursday next for that place; though her early departure will not only prevent me from returning a separate answer to your several favours, but also make it necessary for me to confine myself to the principal and most material parts of your letters.

His Majesty is much pleased with the attention which has been paid by you and Lord Howe to the importation of rum and molasses, which has been evidently productive of so much mischief; and trusts that the step which you have taken, will,
in

in concurrence with the measures pursued by you in your respective departments, contribute greatly to the distressing of the rebels.

I am commanded to acquaint you, that the great merit of the troops, who were engaged in the action of the 26th June, is acknowledged by his Majesty; and that he was graciously pleased to signify his approbation of their conduct. The loss sustained was inconsiderable; but I must always feel great concern when I recollect that the army, by the death of Captain Finch, has been deprived of an officer who gave the strongest proofs of military genius, and promised to be an ornament to the profession of arms.

I have the pleasure to inform you, that, in compliance with your request, the Master of the Lady Gage Transport will receive no orders here which can interfere with those he received in North America, or prevent him from forthwith procuring and conveying to you the wine and refreshments of which the army may stand in need.

You may be assured that every possible exertion will be made in order to complete the British regiments under your command; and I should have been happy if your requisition of a corps of Russians could have been complied with—Unfortunately they cannot be had. But his Majesty is so very desirous of furnishing you with such troops as you may think necessary for the service, that every measure will be taken to procure as many others as possible.

The tanned leather belts and light pouches, which you recommend for the Provincials, will be ordered.

As you still continue to think that it would be convenient to have a General Officer appointed to command in West Florida, his Majesty consents that you should make such appointment.

I have laid before the King your recommendation of Lieutenant Colonel Patterson; and as you will perceive that he is included in the general promotion (an account of which will by this packet be transmitted to you by the Secretary at War) I need only observe to you his Majesty was pleased to express his approbation of the Colonel's services.

I was extremely sorry to have such certain proofs as you afforded me (in the copies of papers relative to East and West Florida), that the Southern Indians do not manifest that disposition to act in favour of Government which we had been taught to expect; but as you have discovered the source of their present indifference, I hope that the orders which
you

you have issued will frustrate the designs of the agents employed by the rebels, and secure the future affection of the Savages.

The behaviour of Governor Tonyn, Brigadier General and Major Prevost, upon the late invasion of East Florida, is much approved by his Majesty; and I hope that a persuasion of their zeal and abilities may deter the rebels from a prosecution of their plan, and ensure security and quiet to the province for a longer term than the present summer.

Having had the pleasure of hearing, that the troops were all safely embarked, and that the fleet was seen on July 27th off Cape Henlopen, I flatter myself that I shall soon have the satisfaction of receiving advices of consequence from Philadelphia. I shall have a very sincere pleasure in congratulating you upon the expected success of the army under your command. In the mean time you will give me leave to partake of the joy which you must have derived from the accounts of General Burgoyne's rapid progress, and the fair prospect which you now have of an earlier junction than you lately supposed likely to be effected.

Copy of a Letter from the Honourable Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, dated Philadelphia, December 13, 1777.
[Received January 18th, 1778.]

LORD Cornwallis having applied for leave of absence to attend his private business in Europe, I take this opportunity of sending my dispatches by his Lordship in the Brilliant armed ship.

Since my last, the enemy being joined by upwards of four thousand men, with cannon, from the Northern army, assembled their whole force in a strong camp at Whitemarsh, covered in part by Sandy Run, fourteen miles distant from hence, with their right to Wissahickon-Creek.

Upon a presumption that a forward move might tempt the enemy, after receiving such reinforcement, to give battle for the recovery of this place, or that a vulnerable part might be found to admit of an attack upon their camp, the army marched on the night of the 4th instant, the van commanded by Lieutenant-general Earl Cornwallis, the main body by Lieutenant-general Knyphausen, and on the next morning took post upon Chesnut-hill, in front of the enemy's right. The enemy soon after detached a corps of 1000 men to attack the light infantry posted in front, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Abercromby; the consequence of which was, that upon the first onset of the 2d battalion of light infantry, and

and part of the first, they were instantly defeated, with the loss of between thirty and forty men killed and wounded, and a brigadier made prisoner.

Not judging it advisable to attack the enemy's right, the army, having remained in the same position during the 6th, marched at one o'clock in the morning of the 7th, the van and main body commanded as before, to take post on Edge-Hill, one mile distant from the enemy's left. A corps of one thousand men, composed of riflemen, and other troops, from the enemy's Northern army, were found by the van-guard posted on this hill with cannon. Lord Cornwallis immediately attacked with the first light infantry, supported by the 33d regiment, and defeated this body, with a considerable loss of officers and men, their cannon narrowly escaping. The thickness of the wood where the rebels were posted, concealing them from the view of the light infantry, occasioned the loss of one officer killed, three wounded, and between twenty and thirty men killed and wounded, from their first fire.

Major-general Grey with his brigade light infantry of the guards, Queen's rangers, Hessian and Anspach chaffeurs, took post upon the left, in front of the enemy's centre. A detachment to harrafs this corps was immediately routed by the General's advanced guard, composed of his light troops, with a loss to the enemy of fifty killed and wounded.

Your Lordship will see, by the inclosed return, the loss sustained by the King's troops in the above-mentioned attacks.

The enemy's camp being as strong on their centre and left as upon the right, their seeming determination to hold this position, and unwilling to expose the troops longer to the weather in this inclement season, without tents or baggage of any kind for officers or men, I returned on the 8th to this place. The rear-guard, under the command of Lord Cornwallis, quitted Edge-hill on the right, about four o'clock in the afternoon, without the smallest appearance of the enemy; and Major-general Grey retiring from his post at the same time, without the least molestation, the army arrived at this camp at nine o'clock in the evening.

On the 11th, at day-break, Lord Cornwallis, with Major-general Grant under his command, passed the Schuylkill with a strong corps and the waggons of the army, to collect forage for the winter-supply, which his Lordship accomplished, and returned yesterday evening.

The enemy having quitted their camp at White-marsh some hours before Lord Cornwallis marched from hence, his Lordship met the head of their army at a bridge they had thrown over the Schuylkill, near to Matson's Ford, about three miles below Sweed's Ford, and fifteen miles distant from hence. Over this bridge the enemy had passed 800 men, who were immediately dispersed by his Lordship's advanced troops, obliging part of them to re-cross it, which occasioned such an alarm to their army, that they broke the bridge; and his Lordship proceeded to forage without meeting with any interruption.

The enemy's intention seems to be, to take their winter quarters at Carlisle, York, and Lancaster, and probably they may have a corps at Reading, and another at Burlington, in Jersey.

The 71st regiment, and regiment of Mirback, are immediately to embark, to reinforce Sir Henry Clinton at New York, upon his representation of a want of troops for the defence of that post; and I propose to put the army immediately into winter-quarters in this town, where there is sufficient room.

Major-general Daniel Jones is arrived at New-York, and orders will be sent to him to join this part of the army.

With the most perfect respect,

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. HOWE.

Copy of a Letter from General Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, dated 13th December 1777.

[Received January 17, 1778.]

MY LORD,

LAST night I had the honour to receive your Lordship's dispatches by the Lord Sandwich packet, as per margin*, and shall defer answering them by this conveyance, as there does not appear an immediate necessity for so doing, and particularly, as I am anxious to dispatch the Brilliant, that your Lordship may have the earliest communication with Earl Cornwallis, whose knowledge of the war, in which he has had so great a share of service, will, I am confident, enable him to give your Lordship the most ample information.

I have the honour to be,

your Lordship's, &c.

W. HOWE.

Copy

* No. 15, 16, 17, duplicates; 17, 18, 19, 20, originals; separate, 3d September 1777.

Copy of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, dated Philadelphia, 15th January 1778.

MY LORD,

[Received 14th March.]

I BEG leave to represent to your Lordship, in answer to your dispatch No. 17, respecting the Island of St. John, that finding, by a letter from Mr Calbeck, president of the council there, the company of 100 men, which he had engaged to raise, would not be sufficient for the defence of Charlotte-town against the disaffected French inhabitants, and the piratical cruizers, who might be tempted to an invasion, merely with a view of securing the guns; I judged it expedient to remove them from thence, concluding the island would remain in greater security from those cruizers, when the principal object was withdrawn, than by a shew of defence, the weakness of which must be soon discovered. Besides Mr. Calbeck's demands for stores, provisions, &c. were such that, in the then situation of affairs, they could not be complied with conveniently; neither did I think it advisable, from my intelligence of the enemy's design upon Nova Scotia, to weaken that province further than I was obliged to do, by sending a detachment to Newfoundland. How far I have been right in my expectations, may be best drawn from the peaceful or disturbed state of the island, since the period alluded to; my accounts from thence or any other quarter, have not given me, as yet, any reason to think myself mistaken: but in consequence of the King's commands, which I have the honour to receive from your Lordship, a detachment of Provincials is already ordered to proceed from New York to the island of St John, as soon as the season will permit it, furnished with provisions and stores for twelve months; the provincial corps in Nova Scotia being too weak to admit of one going from thence. I have the honour to be, &c.

W. HOWE.

Copy of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, dated Philadelphia, 16th January 1778.

[Received 14th March.]

MY LORD,

BEING fully confident that Earl Cornwallis, in consequence of my request to his Lordship, will urge such forcible reasons against the plan proposed by Lord William Campbell, Sir James Wright, &c. for an expedition to the southern colonies this winter, I shall only observe to your Lordship that, supposing a sufficient force could be spared from hence upon their plan, which is by no means the

case, and admitting of the promised success of his Majesty's arms, still no solid advantages could be expected, unless the acquisitions were held by a considerable force: if, on the contrary, the troops should be withdrawn to other objects, the rebels would not fail to wreak their vengeance upon such of his Majesty's faithful subjects, relying upon a continuance of support, as should fly to the royal standard.

For I am so far from subscribing to the opinion those gentlemen entertain of the power or influence of the well affected inhabitants, however well armed they may be, to maintain a superiority in their respective provinces, that I should with more readiness assert his Majesty's forces would have nothing better to expect than an equivocal neutrality, excepting in a few instances, not to be considered in opposition to the body of the people.

Experience has proved this to be the case in every province, and in some instances, where assurances have been given equal to those in the memorial now before me, not only of the wishes, but of the determination of the inhabitants, to cast off the usurped power of their new rulers, and return to their allegiance.

From these considerations, and from the expediency of keeping the troops collected, that they may be in a situation to act against the enemy's main army, when the season permits, I have declined the proposed expedition, which I hope may not meet with his Majesty's disapprobation.

I am, &c.

W. HOWE.

Copy of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, dated Philadelphia, 17th January 1778.

[Received 14th March.]

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship, that since the receipt of your dispatch, No. 20. none of the general officers, serving in this district of North America, excepting Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Cornwallis, have applied for leave of absence to return to Britain, Sir Henry Clinton, remaining at my request, in the important command at New York, Lord Cornwallis only, has gone home. And that I may not counteract his Majesty's intentions in sending out Sir Henry Clinton last Spring, to succeed to the command in case of my demise or incapacity, I am to request the King's pleasure for the rule of my conduct, in case of a future application, upon the supposition of my expected removal. I am to make my excuse for giving your
Lord-

Lordship this trouble, but should that event, from any unforeseen cause, not take place, I should be at a loss how to proceed in a matter of that moment, without the knowledge of his Majesty's pleasure.

Your Lordship's having honoured me with his Majesty's commands, that the commander in chief is not to appoint the chief engineer to be his Aid de Camp, permit me so far to justify my appointment of Captain Montrefor to act in that capacity, as to inform your Lordship, the appointment did not take place until after the arrival of Major Dixon, and that the instant Major Dixon quitted the command, Captain Montrefor was no longer my Aid de Camp. I am, &c.

W. HOWE.

Copy of a Letter from General Sir William Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated Philadelphia, 19th Jan. 1778.

MY LORD,

[Received 14th March.]

THE present appearance of the weather encouraging me to hope the river will be sufficiently open in a few days to admit of a packet sailing, I have prepared my dispatches to this date, and shall send them off without waiting for the receipt of those from your Lordship by the Lord Hyde packet, which I am informed by Sir Henry Clinton arrived at New-York on the 1st instant, and were detained upon a supposition that the navigation of this river would not be open for a ship of force, and not thinking it advisable to trust them in the packet, or in the armed vessel bringing the advice.

There has not any thing more material happened since the departure of Lord Cornwallis, who I requested to be the bearer of my last dispatches, than the passing a considerable detachment of the army across the Schuylkill on the 22d of December, to take post on the heights of Derby, in order to cover the collecting and transporting by water, as well as by land, a large quantity of forage which that country afforded. About 1000 tons were brought in, a quantity judged to be nearly sufficient for the winter consumption; and the detachment returned on the 28th of December, without any further attempts from the enemy to retard the progress of the foragers, than from small parties skulking, as is their custom, to seize upon the straggling soldiers: one of these parties, consisting of two officers and thirty men, were decoyed by two dragoons of the 17th regiment, into an ambuscade, and made prisoners.

On the 30th and 31st of December, the troops went into winter quarters in this town, where they are well accommodated.

The enemy's army excepting a detachment of 1200 men, at Wilmington, is huddled on the woods near Valley Forge upon the Schuylkill, 26 miles from hence, and in a very strong position.

• Colonel Harcourt; who will have the honour of presenting these dispatches, has my leave to go to England upon his private affairs, to whom I beg leave to refer your Lordship for the fullest information that may be required.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. HOWE.

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germaine, to Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, 11th December 1777.

SIR,

[Received 27th Feb.]

It having been thought improper to detain the packet, it is determined that she shall sail with the first fair wind.

I am by this circumstance of her sudden departure prevented from returning a methodical and circumstantial answer to the several letters with which you favoured me from the head of Elk, from Head Quarters German-Town and Philadelphia.

I cannot however permit the vessel to be sent off, without acknowledging the receipt of the above dispatches, and congratulating you on the signal successes which have attended the army under your command since the debarkation at Elk Ferry, and I shall only remark that while you so justly contend that those successes are undoubted vouchers of the good conduct of the general officers, and of the bravery of the soldiers, you ought not by any means to decline the commendations to which you yourself have evidently an indispensable claim, from the judgment, ardor, and military skill which you exhibited on the march, and in the several engagements. And I have the pleasure of being commanded to inform you that his Majesty is duly sensible of the large share of praise to which you are entitled on those accounts.

Whether I consider the advantages that were proposed to be derived from the progress and successful operations of the Canada army, or the effect which our disappointment will have on the minds of the rebels, I cannot but feel the most poignant concern and mortification at the strong, and I fear too well grounded, reports of the misfortune which has happened to Lieutenant-General Burgoyne and his army; should those reports prove true in their full extent, so heavy a misfortune will be deeply felt by his Majesty and the whole nation, and a material alteration in the plan of carrying on the war must necessarily take place,

place, but until the effect of your operations this campaign is fully known, it is impossible for his Majesty to come to any determination, or to send you any particular instructions.

Your zeal for his Majesty's service will have already excited you to endeavour to obviate the inconveniences which may result from the failure of that expedition; and as your wisdom must have immediately discovered the necessity of a particular attention being paid to the island of New York and Rhode island, his majesty trusts that their preservation will be effectually consulted by you.

The attack of Redbank reflects the greatest credit on the officers and soldiers. The death of men who behaved so gallantly is a loss ever to be lamented, and it is to be hoped that the survivors have since had the satisfaction of seeing their courage and ardour rewarded with the deserved success.

Sir Henry Clinton's conduct in the expedition up the North-river does him the greatest honour. The plan was most judicious, and it was executed with equal ability. The officers and troops merit the greatest commendations; and I have the pleasure to acquaint you that his Majesty highly approves the spirit and vigour with which they effected that very difficult and important service. It is only to be lamented, that Sir Henry Clinton was not earlier in a condition to undertake an enterprize, the success of which must have been of the most singular advantage to General Burgoyne's operations.

The King has been pleased to express his approbation of Major-General Vaughan's conduct, and it is a very sincere happiness to me to be able to assure you, that his Majesty is perfectly satisfied with the services which have been rendered him on the several occasions mentioned in your late dispatches, by the officers and men, British, foreign, and provincials. I am, &c.

GERMAINE.

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germaine to General Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, 11th December 1777.

SIR,

[Received 27th February.]

I AM to acquaint you, that I had the honour of laying before the King your separate letter of the 22d October, wherein you desire his Majesty's permission to quit your command.

His Majesty received your request with concern. But as the particulars of Lieutenant-General Burgoyne's situation are still unknown, and your own campaign is not finished,

I am not authorized at present to signify his Majesty's commands upon that subject. I beg leave, however, to assure you, that there will not be any avoidable delay in coming to a decision upon it, as well as on the several parts of your dispatches, and on the plan of operations for the future conduct of the war; and that decision shall be transmitted to you as soon as possible.

I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAINE.

Copy of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated Philadelphia, 5th March 1778.
[Received 26th April.]

MY LORD,

IT gave me pain to learn, by the honour of your Lordship's dispatch, No. 23, that my application to return home had given his Majesty one moment's concern. I meant not to throw any difficulties in the way of the King's service, which I have ever been, and ever shall be, most zealous to promote, as far as my person and abilities can carry me. But in the present instance, conceiving the confidence of his Majesty's minister to be withdrawn, which I have the presumption to believe I once possessed, I considered it a duty I owed the King, the minister, the public, and to myself, humbly to request my dismissal.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. HOWE.

Extract of Sir William Howe's Letter to Lord George Germain, dated Philadelphia, 5th March 1778.
[Received 26th April.]

I TAKE the opportunity of Lieut. Colonel Dyer's return to Europe in an armed victualler, to give the earliest information of the receipt of your Lordship's dispatches No. 22 and 23, a letter from Mr. Knox of 11th December, with duplicates of former dispatches, No. 18, 19, 20, 21, and separate of 3d September, which were brought here by a sloop of war from New York on the 27th February.

The approbation which the King has been graciously pleased to express of the judicious and spirited conduct of Sir Henry Clinton, and Major-General Vaughan, I shall immediately transmit to these officers at New York: and I am happy in assuring, that the honour conferred upon the officers and soldiers in general, by a declaration from your Lordship, that his Majesty is perfectly satisfied with their services in the late campaign, has been received by those here with grateful respect. My most dutiful acknowledg-

ledgments for his Majesty's condescension in taking notice of the small share of merit which I can claim in the late successes attending the British arms, would be very inadequate to my feelings on the occasion: and your Lordship's expressions of approbation are such as cannot fail to impress me with a due sense of your opinion of my conduct.

A report of a revolt in Canada has prevailed here for some time past, to which, I confess, I gave little credit; but from good intelligence lately received, the rebels have undertaken an expedition into that province, which I conceive is either intended for the destruction of the armed vessels at St. John's, in order to facilitate the passage of an army in the spring, or to penetrate into the country on a supposition of being joined by the disaffected Canadians—the troops, amounting to four thousand men, are to be transported in one thousand sledges, under the command of the Marquis De la Fayette, a Major General in the rebel service, accompanied by Major General Conway, who, I am informed, is a Captain in the service of France.—This force, excepting one Regiment taken from hence, is drawn from the New England provinces, and the 22d of February was appointed for their assembling at Albany. As the execution of this measure must depend upon the passing of the Lakes over the ice, it is totally out of my power to communicate to Sir Guy Carleton timely intelligence of the movement.

The rebel army continues in the same situation as when I had last the honour of writing to your Lordship, huddled at Valley Forge, where their men suffer exceedingly from the very inclement weather that has prevailed this winter, which has induced numbers to desert.

Great struggles are making throughout the provinces to assemble a numerous army in the spring, and the most oppressive and arbitrary means exercised to draw the people to the field, who almost generally shew extreme backwardness to their service, and in some instances have forcibly resisted the tyranny of their rulers.

The dread of an Indian war gives great alarm to the back settlers in the middle provinces, who have reason to fear the resentment of these people, for the treacherous murder of a chief warrior of the Shawnee tribe, named the Cornstalk, and of his son, at a late conference held by one
of

of the rebel agents near the mouth of the great Konhaway river.—The consequence has already been fatal to many of the back inhabitants, and, by accounts I can depend upon, the Indians are not to be pacified.

By the last letter from General Burgoyne, I have too much reason to believe that every means will be used to delay the departure of the troops under the Convention of Saratoga for Great Britain, if it is not already a fixed resolution to detain them. The most exorbitant demands have, by the express order of the Congress, been made against them for provisions, contingencies, &c. and every difficulty started that ingenuity could devise. To the first I think it advisable in some measure to yield, and I have done every thing in my power to remove the latter, esteeming the release of the General and his troops superior to every other consideration. The Admiral has sent transports to Boston to receive them on board, and I have not only passed my word for discharging on demand any debt that shall be acknowledged by General Burgoyne, but have supplied him with cash and with credit to liquidate it on the spot, so that I have no other reason to doubt their departure than a political determination to the contrary. To facilitate this business most effectually, I have agreed with General Washington for the appointment of Commissioners on his part and on mine, to meet at German Town on the 10th instant, not only to adjust such matters as may come before them, relative to the troops under the Convention, but to treat and to determine upon all matters whatsoever relative to prisoners. As a preliminary to the exchange of officers, I have insisted upon the exchange of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, and of the Hessian field officers taken at Trenton, and I hope for the pleasure of reporting the success of this Cartel to your Lordship in my next dispatches.

Colonels O'Hara and Stephens, and Captain Fitzpatrick of the detachment of the Foot Guards, are the gentlemen I have nominated as Commissioners on my part, in whose abilities and zeal for the honour of his Majesty's service, and for the interest of those most immediately concerned, I have the strongest reasons to place implicit confidence.

Copy of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germaine, dated Philadelphia, 24th March 1778.

[Received 7th May.]

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship that the enemy's intended invasion of Canada by way of the Lakes, as mentioned in my last dispatches, has failed from disappointments in collecting the troops and stores proposed for that enterprize. The Marquis de la Fayette, I learn, is returned from Albany to the army in this province, and General Conway remains in New England to command, as it is said, an army on that side, which is designed to act either against New York or Rhode Island. The Generals commanding at those posts are apprized of the intention, and as the troops stationed at those places, with the navy co-operating, are, in my opinion, adequate to their defence, I have not any apprehension for their safety.

If I may judge from the late proceedings of the Congress, relative to General Burgoyne and the troops under the Convention of Saratoga, there is little doubt of a determination being taken to detain them, even under the most frivolous pretences. That your Lordship may be fully informed of every transaction relative to General Burgoyne since his arrival in the neighbourhood of Boston, I have the honour to inclose copies of the most material papers that have passed between him, myself, and others on the subject of his situation, and as this business has been unavoidably blended with the state of prisoners in general, I have ranged the correspondences relative to both in a regular succession, by which your Lordship will observe the difficulties that may be expected in reconciling the objections which are made, and in the adjustment of a general cartel. The time appointed for the meeting of the Commissioners being postponed by General Washington to the 31st of this month, without assigning any satisfactory reason, leads me to believe that neither he, or those under whose authority he acts, are sincere in their professions to carry an exchange into execution at this time. The Admiral is daily expected here from Rhode Island; but as his arrival may be retarded, I have thought it adviseable to dispatch the Sandwich Packet for England, and waiting in humble expectation of his Majesty's commands,

I am, &c.

W. HOWE.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germaine to Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, 4th February 1778.

SIR,

[Received April 9th.]

ON the 17th of last month, Sir Thomas Spencer Wilson delivered to me your dispatches, numbered 73, 74, and 75, and your private letter of the 30th of November; and on the 18th, I received from Lord Cornwallis those of the 13th December, numbered 76 and 77, all which I have had the honour to lay before the King.

The happy issue of the attack upon the Fort on Mud-Island, and the very important consequences with which that success was attended, by occasioning the abandonment of the Fort at Redbank, and the destruction of several of the rebel galleys, and of opening the communication between the town of Philadelphia and the shipping, gave his Majesty particular satisfaction; and I am commanded to add, that the conduct of the land and naval officers who conducted the attack, and the alacrity and perseverance of the officers and seamen employed in that service, have met with his Majesty's royal approbation. The small loss with which these important objects were attained, is a circumstance that could not fail to be very pleasing to his Majesty, and bears honourable testimony of the wisdom with which the attack was planned, and of the attention shewn to the safety of the troops directed to make it; circumstances which must ever reflect credit on the commander in chief, and endear him to the army under his orders.

I shall expect, with much impatience and anxiety, to hear that the troops, which composed Lieutenant General Burgoyne's army, are allowed to embark at Rhode Island, instead of Boston; and that no advantage is taken of that small deviation from the terms of the Convention, to contravene it.

Major Ackland, who belonged to that army, had the misfortune to be taken prisoner some days before the convention was made; his relations here are very anxious for his release; and as the regiment, to which he is Major, is included in the convention, and is to come to England, his detention will be attended with some inconvenience; I must therefore beg leave you will endeavour to have him exchanged, the first opportunity that offers.

I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAINE.

Copy

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germaine to General Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, 4th February 1778.

SIR,

[Received April 9.]

IN my letter to you of the 11th of December, No. 23, I acquainted you that I had the honour to lay before the King your separate letter to me of the 22d of October, wherein you desire his Majesty's permission to quit your command, and that his Majesty had received your request with concern; but as the particulars of Lieutenant General Burgoyne's situation were then unknown, and your campaign not finished, his Majesty had not authorized me to signify his commands upon that subject.

I have since received and laid before the King a letter from Lieutenant General Burgoyne, dated at Albany, the 20th of October, inclosing the articles of convention between him and Major General Gates; and also your dispatches of the 13th of December, by which his Majesty was fully informed of the final closing of the campaign, and was therefore graciously pleased to order me to signify to you, his royal acquiescence in your request of leave to resign the command, provided Sir Henry Clinton shall be in America when this letter reaches your hands, to whom you are to deliver up the command, and put him in possession of all the orders and instructions which you have received from me or any other of the King's servants, respecting the troops, or the operations in which they have been or were to be employed.

His Majesty also relies upon your furnishing him with every information you shall conceive may be of use, and advantageous to the King's service. But in case Sir Henry Clinton shall have received leave of absence from you, and be already sailed from North America, it is his Majesty's pleasure that you do remain with the army until Sir Henry Clinton's return, or the arrival of such other officer as his Majesty shall think proper to appoint to succeed you.

I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAINE.

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germaine to General Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, 18th February 1776.

SIR,

[Received April 14th.]

THE inclosed duplicate of my letter to you of the 4th instant, by the packet, will inform you that his Majesty has
been

been graciously pleased to acquiesce in your request of leave to quit your command, and return to England, provided Sir Henry Clinton shall not have left America before that letter reaches your hands. I now avail myself of the opportunity of a ship of war, dispatched express, for the purpose of conveying to you and Lord Howe, in the speediest manner, advice of the salutary measure under the consideration of Parliament, of which you will be fully informed by my separate letter of this day's date, to add to what I have expressed in my former letter, that his Majesty, from the experience he has had of your zeal and attachment to his service, has the fullest confidence that, whilst you continue in the command, you will lay hold of every opportunity of putting an end to the rebellion, and inducing a submission to legal government, by a due exertion of the force under your orders. Every means will be employed to augment that force, and I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that his Majesty has received the most uncommon testimonies of affection and support, in the prosecution of the war, if the obstinacy of the colonies, in rejecting the generous terms now held out to them, shall make it necessary to continue it, not only from parliament but from the people in general. Several noblemen and gentlemen of extensive influence, and some great cities, have undertaken to raise new corps; and in London, Bristol, and many other towns, considerable sums have been subscribed, to be given in bounties to recruits for the old regiments.

Nevertheless, as the season must be far advanced before so large a reinforcement can be sent out as might be sufficient to enable you to act at any distance from the sea coast, his Majesty's intentions are, that you should begin your operations as early as possible, by detaching such a number of troops as can be spared, consistent with the defensive plan you have proposed, and, in conjunction with the fleet, may be sufficient to attack the sea ports in the province of Massachusetts-bay, Connecticut, and New-Hampshire, for the purpose of destroying their ships of war and privateers, by which the trade of this kingdom has been so greatly annoyed, and incapacitating them from fitting out others with the like intent.

You will therefore lose no time in concerting with the Admiral the best means of effecting this very essential service.

I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAINE.

Copy of a circular Letter from Lord George Germaine to Sir William Howe, &c. dated Whitehall, 19th February 1778.
[Received April 14th.]

SIR,

THE King, ever desirous to promote the welfare and happiness of all his subjects, has seen with great concern the calamitous consequences of the dispute with the Colonies, and willing to hope, that even those who have been most forward in bringing on these misfortunes, are now convinced of the fatal tendency of their conduct, and would gladly return to their allegiance, if they were not withheld by apprehensions that advantage would be taken of their submission, to pursue measures dictated by resentment of their past behaviour, and to impose upon the Colonies intolerable burthens and restraints. To remove all ground of such apprehensions, and to prepare the way for the return of peace, his Majesty was graciously pleased to signify his royal pleasure to his most confidential servants, on whose advice his Majesty relies in matters of the greatest importance, that they should deliberate upon and concert such measures as would be most likely to produce those happy effects. And, in consequence of that deliberation, Lord North, on the 17th instant, propounded to the House of Commons the inclosed resolution, which was unanimously adopted, and bills have been prepared in pursuance of it, and this day presented and read in the House.

The King commands me to send you copies of those bills inclosed herewith, and to signify to you his royal pleasure, that you do cause them to be printed and dispersed throughout the Colonies, by such means as shall be most likely to make them generally known and considered, and that you embrace every opportunity of circulating them by flags of truce or private persons among the rebel troops, and in those parts of the country where the authority of the Congress prevails. And this you are to do with all possible expedition, so as the people at large may be acquainted with their contents, before ill-intentioned persons can have time to diffuse prejudices against them, or, by misrepresenting their tendency, excite jealousy and distrust of the favourable disposition of Great Britain towards the American colonies.

I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAINE.

Copy

taching a body of troops to attack the sea-ports in the province of Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, upon the arrival of the Admiral, who is daily expected, and of Sir Henry Clinton, who I hope soon to see, no time shall be lost in consulting with them upon the subject of his Majesty's commands.

I do not hesitate to confess to your Lordship, that I apprehend great hazard will attend the success of this expedition, as a superior number of troops than can be spared will be requisite to carry it effectually into execution. Your Lordship is pleased to direct, that these troops should be detached consistent with the defensive plan I have proposed; upon which I beg leave to observe, that to send a considerable force from hence does not appear to me advisable, considering that the remainder would not be able so far to improve any successful operation in the field, or other favourable circumstances that may occur, as to change the defensive into an offensive plan; which I humbly presume that an army, though acting on the defensive, should always entertain.

It is my opinion, that more than two thousand men ought not to be sent from hence, and that less than four thousand would be insufficient for the proposed service; being fully persuaded a smaller number making a descent on the coast of New England, where there may be an object in view, would very soon be opposed by a great superiority of force, consisting of such troops as were successful against the Northern army; and the difficult navigation upon these coasts with a fleet, the frequent fogs that prevail, the want of a convenient port of rendezvous, the flatness of a great part of the coast, which must impede the receiving of necessary assistances from the shipping; as well in landing as in the re-embarkation of the troops; will, I fear, render any effectual service extremely hazardous.

If I thought myself authorized, from the words of your Lordship's letter, to dispute the expediency of such an expedition, under the present circumstances of the army, I should not scruple to give my advice against it, conceiving it would be for the benefit of the king's service: and I beg your Lordship may do me the justice to believe that I am actuated by no other motive in presuming thus freely to give my opinion.

Permit me to add, that though advantages very beneficial may be obtained by the force now here, they may not be

on the 8th of January, declaring, "That the embarkation of Lieutenant-general Burgoyne, and the troops under his command, be suspended until a distinct and explicit ratification of the Convention of Saratoga shall be properly notified by the court of Great Britain to Congress."

I have sent copies to Sir Henry Clinton, at New-York, of your Lordship's dispatches of 4th of February, No. 25; of the 18th February, No. 26; and of the circular letter of the 19th of said month. Upon the General's arrival here I shall not fail strictly to adhere to his Majesty's commands, by giving him the fullest information in my power, after which I shall immediately proceed to England.

The drafts of the bills inclosed in your Lordship's letter of the 19th February, have been published, and dispersed, in obedience to his Majesty's commands, and will, I have no doubt, be shortly spread over this continent.

The enemy's position continues to be at Valley Forge and Wilmington; their force has been diminished during the course of the winter by desertion, and by detachments to the back settlements, where the Indians make constant inroads; but the want of green forage does not yet permit me to take the field, and their situation too strong to hazard an attack with a prospect of success, which might put an end to the rebellion; whereas a check at this period would probably counteract his Majesty's intentions of preparing the way for the return of peace by the bills proposed.

Colonel Mawhood will have the honour of delivering this letter, and is perfectly qualified to answer every inquiry your Lordship may have occasion to make relative to his Majesty's service in this quarter. I am, &c.

W. HOWE.

Copy of a Letter from Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, dated Philadelphia, April 19, 1778.
(Private.) [Received 1st June.]

MY LORD,

I BEG leave to trouble your Lordship with this present dispatch, in consequence of his Majesty's intentions, signified to me in your Lordship's letter of the 18th February, that the operations of this campaign should begin by de-

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taching a body of troops to attack the sea-ports in the province of Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut, and New Hampshire, upon the arrival of the Admiral, who is daily expected, and of Sir Henry Clinton, who I hope soon to see, no time shall be lost in consulting with them upon the subject of his Majesty's commands.

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If I thought myself authorized, from the words of your Lordship's letter, to dispute the expediency of such an expedition, under the present circumstances of the army, I should not scruple to give my advice against it, conceiving it would be for the benefit of the king's service: and I beg your Lordship may do me the justice to believe that I am actuated by no other motive in presuming thus freely to give my opinion.

Permit me to add, that though advantages very beneficial may be obtained by the force now here, they may not be

so decisive as to put an end to the rebellion, or to induce a submission to legal government; for I am not to inform your Lordship, that a defensive army may not become an offensive one, even by a stroke of good fortune happening in the course of the campaign.

When I mentioned my idea of a defensive plan to your Lordship, I meant it in a general sense, that your Lordship might not be deceived into the hope of very essential conquests from the force then under my command, but without any design to exclude the prospect of seizing every advantage that might arise from the vicissitude of military operations.

With the most respect, I have the honour to be

Your Lordship's most faithful and obedient servant,
W. Howe.

Extract of a Letter from the Honourable General Sir William Howe to Lord George Germain, dated Philadelphia, May 11, 1778.

[Received June 10]

MY LORD,

I HAVE the honour to inform your Lordship of Sir Henry Clinton's arrival here on the 8th instant; and that, in consequence of his Majesty's permission to return to England, I shall delay my departure no longer than is necessary to furnish my successor with the orders and instructions with which I have been honoured, and with every further information that I can conceive may be of advantage or use to the service.

Since the earliest return of spring, a succession of detachments from hence has ranged the country for many miles round this city, and in the province of Jersey, to open the communication for bringing in supplies, to relieve the peaceable inhabitants from the persecution of their oppressors, and to collect forage for the army. These detachments have, without exception, succeeded to my expectations, greatly to the credit of the troops employed, to the annoyance of the enemy, and to the advantage of his Majesty's service. Colonel Mawhood, in particular, with three battalions and a Provincial corps, made a descent on the coast of Jersey, near Salem, in the month of March; and, after dispersing the force collected in that part of the country, returned with a very seasonable supply of forage.

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To

To the skill and activity of Lieutenant-colonel Abercromby, must be attributed a successful surprize, made on the 4th instant, upon a corps of the enemy, consisting of 900 men, under the command of a Brigadier-general, posted about seventeen miles from hence, with 400 light infantry, 300 rangers, and a party of light dragoons; that officer attacked and defeated this corps of the enemy, killing, wounding, and taking 150 men, including officers, with the loss of only 9 wounded. The rout would have been far more complete, if the long march of the infantry, in effecting this surprize, had not disabled them from a vigorous pursuit.

I have equal pleasure in reporting to your Lordship the good conduct and success of Major Maitland, who was detached the 7th instant with the 2d battalion of light infantry in flat boats, attended by three galleys and other armed boats, under the command of Captain Henry of the navy. His orders were to proceed up the Delaware, and destroy all the ships and vessels lying in the river between this and Trenton. The inclosed account of his expedition will prove how effectually this enterprize was executed, and the very considerable loss the enemy have sustained.

Two posts are taken on the Jersey side of the Delaware, at Cooper's Ferry and at Billing's Port; the first to cover parties cutting wood for the future supply of the troops, the latter to secure the navigation of the Delaware in a narrow part of the channel.

I have the honour to be, &c.

W. Howe.

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germain to Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, 8th March 1778.

[Not received in America.]

SIR,

AS in consequence of his Majesty's acquiescence in your request, of leave to quit your command and return to England, it may be expected you will have sailed from America before any dispatches which are now to go from hence can arrive, and, as it was the condition under which your request was granted, that Sir Henry Clinton should be present in America, in order to take the command, when you leave it; I have addressed the directions which the King has thought fit to give respecting the future operations of the army, to Sir Henry Clinton; but should it

so

so happen, that he should have sailed from America before you receive my letter of the 4th of February, and that the command still remains with you; I have ordered Major Drummond, to whom my dispatch is entrusted, to carry it to you; and I am to signify to you his Majesty's pleasure that you do, in such case, consider the said dispatch as addressed to you, and, in all respects, govern yourself by it, in the same manner as you would have done, had it been addressed to yourself instead of Sir Henry Clinton.

I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAIN.

Copy of a Letter from Lord George Germain to General Sir William Howe, dated Whitehall, 12th April 1778.

[Not received in America.]

SIR,

IN my letter to you of the 19th of last month, I transmitted copies of two Bills which were on that day presented and read in the House of Commons. They have since passed both Houses, and received the royal assent; very few essential alterations having been made in them during their progress through the Houses, except such as were made, in order the more effectually to remove all shadow of doubt of the purity and sincerity of the purpose of Parliament.

I now send you herewith printed copies of these acts, by the King's command; and I am to signify to you his royal pleasure, that you do transmit copies of each to the Congress, and the Commander in Chief of their troops, and cause them to be made public and dispersed throughout the Colonies, that his Majesty's faithful subjects may, as speedily as possible, be informed of the favourable disposition of his Majesty and Parliament towards the American Colonies.

I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAIN.

Copy of a General Letter from Lord George Germain to Sir William Howe, &c. dated Whitehall, 12th April 1778.

[Not received in America.]

SIR,

ALTHOUGH it may reasonably be expected that you will have left America before the commission his Majesty has

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lately

lately issued in pursuance of the act of the present Session, to treat, consult, and agree upon the means of quieting the disorders subsisting in the Colonies can arrive, the King would not omit your name in that commission, lest from any accident your departure might be delayed, and because of such omission there might be a possibility of imagining some neglect was intended.

A copy of the instructions his Majesty has thought fit to give his commissioners for their guidance in this most important business, is sent to you herewith; they are so particular and comprehensive, that it only remains for me to add my sincere wishes for the success of your negotiations, and that peace may be restored between Great Britain and the Colonies upon the ground of that connection which, so happily for both, formerly subsisted between them.

I am, &c.

GEO. GERMAIN.

Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to Lord George Germain, dated Quebec, May 14, 1777.

[*Private.*]

MY LORD,

I take the opportunity of a vessel dispatched by Sir Guy Carleton to England, to inform your Lordship of my arrival here the 6th instant. And though my present situation, as acting under a superior upon the spot, may make an official correspondence unnecessary, I cannot persuade myself I shall not appear guilty of impropriety in assuming the honour of a private and confidential one, relative to the objects of my destination.

From my present information, I have reason to expect the preparations for opening the campaign to be very forward on our part. Due exertions were used in the course of the winter, and the uncommon mildness of the weather greatly favoured them, to convey provisions to Chamblé and St. John's. One large victualler arrived after I left the St. Lawrence last November; all residues of other victuallers have been collected; I am in hopes of finding a sufficiency of provision to enable me to cross the Lake Champlain at least, without the arrival of the Cork fleet. I hope also to find artillery stores enough to feel the pulse of the enemy at Ticonderoga. Should their situation and reso-

resolution be such as to make great artillery preparations requisite, I shall certainly be under the necessity of waiting at Crown Point the arrival of the ordnance ships from England. A good body of the Indians I am assured are ready to move upon the first call, and measures are taking for bringing them forthwith to proper rendezvous.

I cannot speak with so much confidence of the military assistance I am to look for from the Canadians. The only corps yet instituted, or that I am informed can at present be instituted, are three independent companies of 100 men each, officered by Seigneurs of the country, who are well chosen; but they have not been able to engage many volunteers. The men are chiefly drafted from the militia, according to a late regulation of the legislative council. Those I have yet seen afford no promise of use in arms, —awkward, ignorant, disinclined to the service, and spiritless. Various reasons are assigned for this change in the disposition of the natives since the time of the French government. It may partly be owing to a disuse of arms, but I believe principally to the unpopularity of their Seigneurs, and to the poison which the emissaries of the rebels have thrown into their minds. Should I find the new companies up the country better composed, or that the well affected parties can be prevailed upon to turn out volunteers, though but for a short occasion, as they did last year, I shall move Sir Guy to exert further measures to augment my numbers.

The army will fall short of the strength computed in England; the want of the camp equipage, cloathing, and many other necessary articles, will cause inconvenience; I am nevertheless determined to put the troops destined for my command immediately in motion; and, assisted by the spirit and health in which they abound, I am confident in the prospect of overcoming difficulties and disappointments.

Having settled all measures with Sir Guy Carleton, both for this purpose and for the expeditious transport of the stores as they may arrive, and having already dispatched instructions to Captain Lutwidge, who commands the fleet upon Lake Champlain, to secure the navigation, in which I clearly see he will find no trouble, I shall proceed in person this afternoon for Montreal, and from thence make my final arrangements for pursuing the King's orders.

I should think myself deficient in justice and in honour, were I to close my letter without mentioning the sense I

entertain. of General Carleton's conduct; that he was anxiously desirous of leading the military operations out of the province, is easily to be discerned; but his deference to his Majesty's decision, and his zeal to give effect to his measures in my hands, are equally manifest, exemplary, and satisfactory. I shall take every possible means to transmit to your Lordship an account of my proceedings from time to time, and have the honour to be, with perfect respect,

Your Lordship's most obedient and most humble
Servant,

J. BURGOYNE.

P. S.

I have mentioned nothing of intelligence concerning the enemy, concluding that Sir Guy Carleton will transmit the material part of it, and in a manner more full than in my power to do. I understand they have laboured hard to strengthen Ticonderoga, and threaten a vigorous resistance there, and that they have built some vessels on Lake George, as your Lordship may remember I had foreseen.

Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to Lord George Germain, dated Montreal, May 19, 1777.

MY LORD,

I had the honour to write to your Lordship the day I left Quebec, having reason to imagine this letter may reach that place in time to be dispatched with my former one, I cannot omit the occasion to inform your Lordship, that the hopes I expressed of being able to put the troops in motion without waiting the arrival of the fleets from England and Ireland, are confirmed.

The only delay is occasioned by the impracticability of the roads, owing to late extraordinary heavy rains, and this difficulty will be speedily removed, by exerting the services of the parishes as soon as the weather clears. In the mean time, I am employing every means that water carriage will admit for drawing the troops and stores towards their point. I trust I shall have vessels sufficient to move the army and stores together, and in that case, will take post at once, within sight of Ticonderoga, and only make use of Crown Point for my hospital and magazines.

A continuation of intelligence from different spies and deserters, confirm the design of the enemy to dispute Ticonderoga vigorously. They are also building bow-gallies

at

to force a supply of provisions, to intercept reinforcements, and to confirm the jealousy I have in many ways endeavoured to excite in the New England provinces; but finding that the enemy are labouring to remove their magazines from Forts George and Edwards, and every where destroying the roads, and preparing to drive and burn the country towards Albany, I have determined to employ them to prevent, if possible, by their terror, the continuance of those operations; and after arriving at Albany they may be employed to renew the alarm towards Connecticut and Boston.

Your Lordship will pardon me if I a little lament that my orders do not give me the latitude I ventured to propose in my original project for the campaign, to make a real effort instead of a feint upon New England. As things have turned out, were I at liberty to march in force immediately by my left, instead of my right, I should have little doubt of subduing before winter the provinces where the rebellion originated.

If my late letters reach Mr. Howe, I still hope this plan may be adopted from Albany; in the mean while my utmost exertions shall continue, according to my instructions, to force a junction.

I have sent some Indians through the woods, in the hope of their reaching St. Leger, with the account of my progress; now is the critical time for his push upon the Mohawk. I have certain intelligence that all the country round Fort Stanwix is in alarm; but I imagine it proceeds from the appearance of some savages detached by Colonel Butler, not apprehending St. Leger can be got quite so forward.

Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to Lord George Germain, dated Camp, near Saratoga, August 20, 1777. [Private.]

MY LORD,

I NEED not enlarge upon the concern I have in communicating any sinister events. I am persuaded your Lordship will give me credit for partaking every sentiment that your Lordship, or any other man warmed with principle and zeal in this contest, can feel.

In regard to the affair of Saintcoick, I have only to add to the public account, that if ever there was a situation to justify

made upon the measure by my superiors. I mean to employ them particularly upon detachments, for keeping the country in awe, and procuring cattle; their real use, I expect, will be great in the preservation of the national troops; but the impression which will be caused upon public opinion, should Provincials be seen acting vigorously in the cause of the King, will be yet more advantageous, and, I trust, fully justify the expence.

The manifesto, of which I enclosed your Lordship a copy in my last dispatches, and herewith send a duplicate, has great effect where the country is not in the power of the rebels; where it is, the committees turn all their efforts to counteract it. They watch or imprison all suspected persons, compel the people in general to take arms, and to drive the cattle and to burn the corn, under penalty of immediate death. Great numbers have been hanged. Should these wretches succeed to make a desert of the country, by fire and massacre, it will at least be a pleasing reflection, that while advantages are reaped from the clement part of the manifesto, they, and not the King's troops, are the executioners of its threats.

Your Lordship will have observed I have made no mention of the Indians in the pursuit from Ticonderoga. It is not possible to draw them in many respects from the plunder of that place, and I confidentially acknowledge this is not the only instance in which I have found little more than a name. If, under the management of their conductors, they are indulged, for interested reasons, in all the caprices and humours of spoiled children, like them they grow more unreasonable and importunate upon every new favour; were they left to themselves, enormities too horrid to think of would ensue, guilty and innocent, women and infants, would be a common prey.

This is the character of the lower Canadian Indians, who alone have been with the army hitherto. I am informed the Outawas, and other remote nations, who are within two days march of joining me, are more brave and more tractable; that they profess war, not pillage. They are under the directions of a M. St Luc, a Canadian gentleman of honour and parts, and one of the best partizans the French had last war, and of one Langlade, the very man who projected and executed with these very nations the defeat of General Braddock. My first intention was to turn this whole corps to the Connecticut immediately,

to force a supply of provisions, to intercept reinforcements, and to confirm the jealousy I have in many ways endeavoured to excite in the New England provinces; but finding that the enemy are labouring to remove their magazines from Forts George and Edwards, and every where destroying the roads, and preparing to drive and burn the country towards Albany, I have determined to employ them to prevent, if possible, by their terror, the continuance of those operations; and after arriving at Albany they may be employed to renew the alarm towards Connecticut and Boston.

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Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant-General Burgoyne to Lord George Germain, dated Camp, near Saratoga, August 20, 1777. [Private.]

MY LORD,

I NEED not enlarge upon the concern I have in communicating any sinister events. I am persuaded your Lordship will give me credit for partaking every sentiment that your Lordship, or any other man warmed with principle and zeal in this contest, can feel.

In regard to the affair of Saintcoick, I have only to add to the public account, that if ever there was a situation to justify

of the Congress, and as many militia as he pleases. He is likewise far from being deficient in artillery, having received all the pieces that were landed from the French ships which got into Boston.

Had I a latitude in my orders, I should think it my duty to wait in this position, or perhaps as far back as Fort Edward, where my communication with Lake George would be perfectly secure, till some event happened to assist my movement forward; but my orders being positive to "force a junction" with Sir William Howe, I apprehend I am not at liberty to remain inactive longer than shall be necessary to collect about twenty-five days provision, and to receive the reinforcement of the additional companies, the German drafts and recruits *now* (and unfortunately *only now*) on Lake Champlain. The waiting the arrival of this reinforcement is of indispensable necessity, because, from the hour I pass the Hudson's river, and proceed towards Albany, all safety of communication ceases. I must expect a large body of the enemy from my left will take post behind me. I have put out of the question the waiting longer than the time necessary for the foregoing purposes, because the attempt, then critical, depending on adventure, and the fortune that often accompanies it, and hardly justifiable but by orders from the state, would afterwards be consummately desperate. I mean, my Lord, that by moving soon, though I should meet with insurmountable difficulties to my progress, I shall at least have the chance of fighting my way back to Ticonderoga; but the season a little further advanced, the distance increased, and the march unavoidably tardy, because surrounded by enemies, a retreat might be shut by impenetrable bars of the elements, and at the same time no possible means of existence remain in the country.

When I wrote more confidently, I little foresaw that I was to be left to pursue my way through such a tract of country, and hosts of foes, without any co-operation from New York; nor did I then think the garrisoning of Ticonderoga would fall to my share alone; a dangerous experiment would it be to leave that post in weakness, and too heavy a drain it is upon the life-blood of my force to give it due strength.

I will yet do not despond. Should I succeed in forcing my way to Albany, and find that country in a state to sustain my army, I shall think no more of a retreat, but at the worst fortify there, and await Sir W. Howe's operations.

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The consequences of this affair, my Lord, have little effect upon the strength or spirits of the army ; but the prospect of the campaign in other respects is far less prosperous than when I wrote last. In spite of St. Leger's victory, Fort Stanwix holds out obstinately. I am afraid the expectations of Sir J. Johnson greatly fail in the rising of the country. On this side I find daily reason to doubt the sincerity, or the resolution of the professing loyalists. I have about 400, but not half of them armed, who may be depended upon ; the rest are trimmers, merely actuated by interest. The great bulk of the country is undoubtedly with the Congress, in principle and in zeal ; and their measures are executed with a secrecy and dispatch that are not to be equalled. Wherever the king's forces point, militia, to the amount of 3 or 4000, assemble in twenty-four hours ; they bring with them their subsistence, &c. and, the alarm over, they return to their farms. The Hampshire Grants, in particular, a country unpeopled, and almost unknown in the last war, now abounds in the most active and most rebellious race of the Continent, and hangs like a gathering storm upon my life. In all parts the industry and management in driving cattle, and removing corn, are indefatigable and certain ; and it becomes impracticable to move without portable magazines. Another most embarrassing circumstance is the want of communication with Sir William Howe : of the messengers I have sent I know of two being hanged, and am ignorant whether any of the rest arrived. The same fate has probably attended those dispatched by Sir William Howe ; for only one letter is come to hand, informing me, that his intention is for Pennsylvania ; that Washington has detached Sullivan with 2500 men to Albany ; that Putnam is in the Highlands with 400 men ; that after my arrival at Albany the movements of the enemy must guide mine ; but that he wished the enemy might be driven out of the province before any operation took place against the Connecticut ; that Sir Henry Clinton remained in the command in the neighbourhood of New York, and would act as occurrences might direct.

No operation, my Lord, has yet been undertaken in my favour : the Highlands have not even been threatened. The consequence is, that Putnam has detached two brigades to Mr. Gates, who is now strongly posted near the mouth of the Mohawk river, with an army superior to mine in troops of

of the Congress, and as many militia as he pleases. He is likewise far from being deficient in artillery, having received all the pieces that were landed from the French ships which got into Boston.

Had I a latitude in my orders, I should think it my duty to wait in this position, or perhaps as far back as Fort Edward, where my communication with Lake George would be perfectly secure, till some event happened to assist my movement forward; but my orders being positive to "force a junction" with Sir William Howe, I apprehend I am not at liberty to remain inactive longer than shall be necessary to collect about twenty-five days provision, and to receive the reinforcement of the additional companies, the German drafts and recruits *now* (and unfortunately *only now*) on Lake Champlain. The waiting the arrival of this reinforcement is of indispensable necessity, because, from the hour I pass the Hudson's river, and proceed towards Albany, all safety of communication ceases. I must expect a large body of the enemy from my left will take post behind me. I have put out of the question the waiting longer than the time necessary for the foregoing purposes, because the attempt, then critical, depending on adventure, and the fortune that often accompanies it, and hardly justifiable but by orders from the state, would afterwards be consummately desperate. I mean, my Lord, that by moving soon, though I should meet with insurmountable difficulties to my progress, I shall at least have the chance of fighting; my way back to Ticonderoga; but the season a little further advanced, the distance increased, and the march unavoidably tardy, because surrounded by enemies, a retreat might be shut by impenetrable bars of the elements, and at the same time no possible means of existence remain in the country.

When I wrote more confidently, I little foresaw that I was to be left to pursue my way through such a tract of country, and hosts of foes, without any co-operation from New York; nor did I then think the garrisoning of Ticonderoga would fall to my share alone; a dangerous experiment would it be to leave that post in weakness, and too heavy a drain it is upon the life-blood of my force to give it due strength.

Yet do not despond. Should I succeed in forcing my way to Albany, and find that country in a state to sustain my army, I shall think no more of a retreat, but at the worst fortify there, and await Sir W. Howe's operations.

What-

asked me, I said, I had no doubt, but that I should be able to do so.

Whatever may be my fate, my Lord, I submit my actions to the breast of the King, and to the candid judgment of my profession, when all the motives become public; and I rest in the confidence, that whatever decision may be passed upon my conduct, my good intent will not be questioned.

I cannot close so serious a letter without expressing my fullest satisfaction in the behaviour and countenance of the troops, and my complete confidence that in all trials they will do whatever can be expected from men devoted to their King and Country. I have the honour to be, &c.

J. BURGOTNE.

P. S. Upon re-perusing this letter, I am apprehensive that the manner in which I have expressed myself, respecting the re-inforcement being only upon Lake Champlain, may seem ambiguous.—I do not mean to impute the delay to any thing but accidents—nor do I mean to contest Sir Guy Carleton's reasoning upon not complying with my requisitions to garrison Ticonderoga—I only lament it.

Copy of a Letter from Lieutenant General Burgoyne to Lord George Germaine, dated Albany, 20th October 1777.

[*Private, by Lord Petersham*].

MY LORD,

I HAVE little to add to my public letter respecting the course of unsuccessful events therein detailed. I rest my confidence in the justice of the King and his councils, to support the General they thought proper to appoint to as arduous an undertaking, and under as positive a direction, as perhaps a cabinet ever framed. It will, I am sure, be remembered, my Lord, that a preference of exertions was the only latitude given me, and that to force a junction with Sir William Howe, or at least a passage to Albany, was the principle, the letter, and the spirit of my orders.

Indeed the appearances at the time I passed the Hudson's river, though subject to doubt in some instances, as I then wrote your Lordship, were, upon a general view, such as I am persuaded would have rendered inaction censurable, had my orders, instead of being peremptory, been discretionary. Promises of the professing loyalists were not then brought to the test; the spirit of the enemy, in combat against regular British troops, had only been tried at Ticonderoga, at Hubbardton, at Skeneborough, and fort Anne; in all which places

places it had failed; the total disappointment of effectual co-operation could not be foreseen or supposed; and sure I am, had I then made supposition that any thing like what has happened might have happened, and remained cautiously posted, no exertion attempted, my conduct would have been held indefensible by every class and distinction of men in government, in the army, and in the public.

The expediency of advancing being admitted, the consequences have been honourable misfortunes. The British have persevered in a strenuous and bloody progress. Had the force been all British, perhaps the perseverance had been longer: but, as it was, will it be said, my Lord, that in the exhausted situation described, and in the jaws of famine, and invested by quadruple numbers, a treaty which saves the army to the state, for the next campaign, was not more than could have been expected? I call it saving the army; because, if sent home, the state is thereby enabled to send forth the troops now destined for her internal defence; if exchanged, they become a force to Sir William Howe, as effectually, as if any other junction had been made.

I should now hold myself unjustifiable if I did not confide to your Lordship my opinion, upon a near inspection, of the rebel troops. The standing corps which I have seen are disciplined. I do not hazard the term, but apply it to the great fundamental points of military institution—fobriety, subordination, regularity, and courage. The militia are inferior in method and movement, but not a jot less serviceable in woods. My conjectures were very different after the affair of Ticonderoga; but I am convinced they were delusive, and it is a duty to the state to confess it.

The panic of the rebel troops is confined, and of short duration; the enthusiasm is extensive and permanent.

It is a justice to Major General Philips, to inform your Lordship, that when the crisis of our situation at Saratoga arrived, he very handsomely offered to hazard his person by making a circuit through the woods, and attempt to throw himself into Ticonderoga, to defend that place, should it be the object of the enemy to endeavour the retaking it.

In-regard to myself, I am sunk in mind and body; but while I have a faculty of either, it shall be exerted for the King's service. I shall wait in the neighbourhood of Boston, the orders of Sir William Howe.

I have the honour to be, &c.

J. BURGOYNE.

Distribution of the following British and Foreign Corps, under the Command of his Excellency General Sir William Howe, K. B. New-York, 8th May 1777.

LIGHT DRAGOONS.

Regiments.	Officers present.												Men.	Present and fit for duty.	Present and fit for duty.	Horses.	
	Commission.				Staff.				Non-commissioned.								
	Colonels.	Lieutenant Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Cornets.	Chaplains.	Adjutants.	Surgeons.	Medics.	Quarter Masters.	Sergeants.	Trumpeters.				
16th	0	1	1	2	3	9	0	1	1	1	5	16	6	312	265		
17th	0	1	1	6	3	11	0	1	1	1	4	15	8	398	337		
Total	0	2	2	8	6	20	0	2	2	2	9	31	14	710	602		

BRITISH.
*Present and fit
 for duty.*

Officers present.

Staff.

Commissary.

Regiments or Corps.

Regiments or Corps.	Brigades.	Colonels.	Lt. Colonels.	Majors.	Captains.	Lieutenants.	Ensigns.	Chaplains.	Adjutants.	Dr. Masters.	Surgeons.	Mates.	Schewens.	Drummers.	Rank and File.
ad Bat. of Foot Guards,	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
ad ditto Light Infantry,	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
ad ditto Grenadiers,	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
4th Foot	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
23d	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
24th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
25th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
26th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
27th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
28th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
29th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
30th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
31st	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
32nd	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
33rd	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
34th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
35th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
36th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
37th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
38th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
39th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
40th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
41st	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
42nd	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
43rd	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
44th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
45th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
46th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
47th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
48th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
49th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
50th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
51st	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
52nd	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
53rd	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
54th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
55th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
56th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
57th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
58th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
59th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
60th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
61st	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
62nd	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
63rd	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
64th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
65th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
66th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
67th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
68th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
69th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
70th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
71st	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
72nd	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
73rd	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
74th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
75th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
76th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
77th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
78th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
79th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
80th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
81st	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
82nd	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
83rd	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
84th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
85th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
86th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
87th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
88th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
89th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
90th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
91st	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
92nd	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
93rd	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
94th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
95th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
96th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
97th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
98th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
99th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
100th	1st	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1

Brig. Gen. Matthew.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Major Gen. Vaughan.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Major General Grant.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Major General Gray.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Brigadier Gen. Agnew.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Brigadier Gen. Leslie.	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

(48)

With the Com-
 mander in Chief.

[illegible]

FOREIGN.

Regiments or Corps.	Brigades.	Where Assigned.				Private.	Drummers and Rifers.	Non-com. Off.	Staff.	Com. Officers.	Lieut. General De Heister.	Major General Sum.	With the Commander in Chief.
		Com. Officers.	Staff.	Non-com. Off.	Drummers and Rifers.								
Corps of Chasseurs	—	4	1	90	157								
Lindling's Grenadiers	—	16	1	43	803								
Mingerode's ditto	Donop.	32	2	89	961								
Lengereck's ditto	—	14	2	42	968								
Kochler's ditto	—	14	3	34	999								
Du Corps	—	21	5	59	491								
Mirsbach	—	29	4	56	452								
Donop	Stirn.	18	4	68	445								
Debris of Rall's Brigade	—	18	5	52	969								
		134	27	408	167	3800							
1 Company of Chasseurs	—	4	0	9	0	95							
D'Eyb	—	23	7	45	15	458							
De Voit	Aspach.	22	5	45	15	451							
Corps of Artillery	—	1	0	4	0	39							
		50	13	108	80	1043							

Prince Charles	16	6	61	22	464	
Trumbach	18	5	60	20	432	
Stein	18	4	82	16	447	
Wiffenbach	14	3	46	13	279	
Prince Hoepfner	18	2	49	20	345	
New York Island.						{ Major General Schmidt. Major General Murbach.
Prince Charles	84	20	250	90	1778	
Regiment of Waldeck	18	5	46	14	320	
Saxen Island.						
Landergraff	16	2	62	18	213	
Reichart	18	4	60	18	444	
Reichart	17	3	47	19	343	
Reichart	16	3	47	19	306	
Rhode Island.						
	67	12	206	74	1496	
Total						
	246	77	1007	375	7947	

N. B. The Artillery attached to the Hessian Regiment and Regiments of Waldeck are included in the Numbers of each Corps.

ROYAL ARTILLERY.

	24 Pounds heavy.	12 Pounds heavy.	12 Pounds medium.	12 Pounds light.	6 Pounds.	3 Pounds.	8 Incb.	5½ Incb.	4½ Incb.	13 Incb.	10 Incb.	8 Incb.	5½ Incb.	4½ Incb.	Officer.	Men.
For the Field	18	11	12	22	49	31	19	9	6	6	4	4	17	43	50	597
At New York	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
At King's Bridge and Redoubt	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	71
At Paulus Hook	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	15
Rhode Island	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	95
Staten Island	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20
Total	18	11	12	22	49	31	19	9	6	6	4	4	17	43	50	597

*Recapitulation of the General Distribution.**With the Commander in Chief.*

		Rank and File.	Total
British artillery	-	385	
British cavalry	-	710	
British infantry	-	8361	
Hessian infantry	-	3300	
Anspach infantry	-	1043	
		<hr/>	15799
<i>New York Island.</i>			
British artillery	-	29	
British infantry	-	1513	
Hessian ditto	-	1778	
		<hr/>	3320
<i>Statens Island.</i>			
British artillery	-	11	
British infantry	-	515	
Waldeck ditto	-	330	
		<hr/>	856
<i>Paulus Hook.</i>			
British infantry	-	-	360
<i>Rhode Island.</i>			
British artillery	-	71	
British infantry	-	1064	
Hessian ditto	-	1496	
		<hr/>	2631
Total army			<hr/> 20957 <hr/>

(Signed)

W. Howe.

N. B. The sick, and men on public employments, are not included in the distribution. There are 2000 provincial troops stationed at King's-Bridge, under the command of Major General Tryon, and the remainder of those corps at different posts adjacent to New York.

On the 19th of February the House adjourned to the 22d.

February 22.

The House in committee on the mutiny bill.

Col. *Barre* observed, that when the supplies for the army were voted, he had taken an opportunity of hinting, that he should at some proper time propose to the House, that every soldier should be in the army for a limited term only. Indeed the House had already passed an act to that purpose, respecting recruits to be taken into his Majesty's service, but what he now had to offer was, that it might extend to the military in general. That soldiers should be enlisted for life was, in his opinion, a most preposterous idea, and had ever been repugnant to his feelings. In support of that opinion, there was a great lawyer [Judge Blackstone] in this country, who might be mentioned; for that he had, though even a friend to prerogative, laid it down as a maxim, "that it would be agreeable to the constitution of this free country, and conducive to the military service, that soldiers should be enlisted to serve for a limited time."

In other countries the method had long been in practice; nay, he believed in every part of the world; in France, in Spain, and on the continent, he was sure it was in use. How surprising! how astonishing was it then; that in England alone, that free constitution, soldiers should be kept in slavery for life! It was the hardship that caused so much desertions. For those, and many other reasons, he would therefore move, that a clause be inserted in the mutiny bill, to extend to the army in general, that no man should remain a soldier in the service of the King, for a longer space of time than seven years.

Sir *William Howe* said, though he did not quite coincide with the right honourable gentleman, yet if it should be resolved to limit the servitude of soldiers, he thought that ten years would be a more proper term than seven. For he was of opinion, that men could hardly be brought into any useful discipline within the last mentioned time; and the difficulty he believed was hardly to be foreseen, how commanders in chief would be able to act with soldiers abroad: in the East Indies, for instance, should the soldiers claim a discharge under the proposed clause, how were they to be brought home?

Mr. *Jenkinson*, secretary at war, opposed the motion, which he insisted upon was to deprive the army of men at the very time they should become most able to serve; and for what purpose? the soldiers were contented, not a single complaint

plaint had ever been received from them, and the service could not be put upon a better footing than the present one on which it stood. Nor could he think it a state of slavery, it being oftener the case that officers find it difficult in getting rid of their men, than that the men should be found to solicit their discharge; and as to the mode of suffering their servitude to expire at a given time, merely to give them an opportunity of re-enlisting, (for men thought the service an honour, and were too fond of it to quit it) it would increase the expences of the state, and would, in all probability, occasion an application to parliament for farther supplies.

Sir *Phillip Jennings Clerke* thought the motion was founded on principles perfectly consonant with the nature of our constitution, and the dictates of justice. The certainty of men serving for life, was the cause of frightening men from the army. In his time he knew many instances of brave and healthy young men, rather entering into the militia, because for three years only, than into his Majesty's service, where they were sure to remain for ever in slavery.

General *Conway* owned that under the late Duke of Cumberland, with whom he had the honour to serve, he had imbibed his sentiments, which were, that soldiers ought to be continued in the army for life; but that he had of late years, from much experience and serious reflection, entirely altered his opinion, which he was free to confess, though he was however inclined to think that the matter well merited a bill, and was by no means to be introduced as a clause in the mutiny act.

General *Burgoyne* was of the same opinion.

Sir *Edward Ashley* of the same.

Hon. Colonel *Stuart* was against the motion, being entirely of the same opinion as the secretary at war.

Mr. *Burke* declared he was never more astonished in his life than he had been at the arguments brought against the motion. The soldiery, it had been insisted upon, were not in a state of slavery. The question, in his opinion, would be to see whether they were in slavery or not, and if they were, to examine them if it was necessary and expedient to continue them in that state of slavery for the good of the service. What he conceived of a slave was to be compelled to serve at the will of another for life. That he thought was a state of slavery. And was it necessary? Was it expedient? Not one single reason had been advanced in support of it; while, on the other hand, the limiting the servitude of a soldier was proved to be fraught with consequences the most

most beneficial to the army, as well as honourable to the constitution of this free country. One great use it would have, would be in preventing desertion, as no one would think it worth while to run such a risk of losing his life, when he might have but a few years to continue in the army. For what was it that made the life of a soldier so terrible, but his being obliged to serve as such for ever? That *ever* was the dreadful word that made him miserable. Even were we obliged to leave a friend for ever, should we not feel in the severest manner? That *ever* cut off all hope, which every one knew to be the balm of life. And surely the way in which a soldier (honourable, when not for ever) lived, cutting off his fellow creatures, ought to have a period. In every situation of life man had something to look forward to. How could the late secretary at war have borne his situation, but that he had other objects in view to sweeten the fatigue of office, under which the noble Lord (Barrington) patiently struggled for five and twenty years, and through as many administrations. Even you, Sir (to the new secretary at war) would never have suffered yourself to have been prevailed upon to succeed the noble Lord, unless you were taught to look forward for that reward which soothes and exhilarates us under every trouble, and that you should, like that noble Lord, be enabled one day or other to retire with the fruits and comforts of your labour. Nay, even you, Sir, (addressing himself to the Speaker) serve but for a term of years. Did you sit in that chair for life, it would be horrid to you. But some other place, Sir, awaits you after all your toils and difficulties in supporting the majesty of the Commons.

Lord *Westcote* said, he was against the motion, because he knew many great men thirty years ago, who were against a plan of this kind at that time, when he remembered General Conway against it. He did not know what had altered the general's opinion, but his own was not changed. As the House, he thought, seemed willing to put it off, he hoped Colonel Barre would withdraw his motion.

Mr. *Aubrey* said, that notwithstanding the noble Lord (Westcote) thought the House desirous of having the motion withdrawn, he was of so different an opinion, that he hoped his right honourable friend would persevere in it, as he did not doubt of the propriety or the success of putting it; for it seemed to him, that the principle of that motion was not either in justice or policy inferior to that in which he succeeded
last

last year, and for which every independent man in the House, and in the country at large, felt the highest obligations to him; that motion was for the inquiry into the extravagant expenditure of the public money: and it was in the memory of the House, that in spite of all the opposition the most leading men on the treasury-bench gave to it, and in particular of the right honourable gentleman now secretary at war, who so strongly opposes the present, it was carried without so much as a division.

Sir *George Yonge* said, he had not heard an argument against the propriety of carrying the present motion, at this time; therefore he wished gentlemen would attend to the motion itself, in which they would find that it was not to take place till the end of the war. All that was meant was to hold out to the old soldiers the consolation of their being then to expect equal justice.

The previous question was put, and carried by 122 against 68.

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